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Bessmertnykh 21 Aug Press Conference

Says Policy Unchanged

LD2108165891 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 21 Aug 91

[By Konstantin Voitsekhovich, Sergey Postanogov and Gennady Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow Aug 21 TASS—Soviet foreign policies remain intact, Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh told a news conference here today. "The Soviet Union's foreign policy course is unchanged, remaining just as charted by the president", he said.

Bessmertnykh said his ministry is guided by instructions only from constitutional federal agencies and executes federal foreign policies within this framework. "No influence by any other agencies on this work is allowed," he said.

The Soviet Union over recent years has won a high international prestige thanks to its consistent efforts to drastically improve the situation at regional and global levels and to its daring and consistent policies of promoting disarmament and the CSCE process, affirming human rights, protecting the environment and ensuring the primacy of international law, Bessmertnykh said.

He stressed that the USSR "is fully resolved to continue following this path, preserve what has already been achieved, strictly honour all signed agreements and treaties, and augment the capital of mutual understanding and cooperation".

Bessmertnykh confirmed that he will continue new-thinking policies as best fitting the country's national, including security, interests.

"We shall do everything to preserve the new atmosphere in the world that has taken so much joint effort to foster," he said.

As he reiterated that the USSR will abide by all signed accords, Bessmertnykh said it proceeds from the assumption that "other states will honour their commitments to the USSR in full as well".

Soviet policies, he said, are geared to "peace, understanding and broadest possible cooperation with all seeking it."

Commenting on tragic events in the country over the past three days, he voiced confidence that Soviet reform and democratic developments are irreversible and that all state structures, first and foremost the federal presidency, will be restored.

More on Press Conference

PM2208093391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "USSR Foreign Minister's News Conference"]

[Text] The Soviet Union's foreign policy course remains unchanged, in other words as formulated by the USSR president and determined by the principled decisions adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. USSR Foreign Minister A. Bessmertnykh said this at a news conference in the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center 21 August. The diplomatic service is guided in its work only by instructions from Soviet constitutional organs and acts in accordance with its official duty, implementing Union foreign policy.

The USSR is fully determined to safeguard its achievements in foreign policy, rigorously implement all the signed treaties and agreements, and increase the capital of mutual understanding and cooperation. This has to be said because all manner of opinions and assessments—and sometimes even decisions—have emerged abroad on future relations with the Soviet Union, the minister noted.

As foreign minister appointed by USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and confirmed by the USSR Supreme Soviet, I will implement the policy of new thinking which best accords with the USSR's national interests and its security, A. Bessmertnykh said. Everything will be done to safeguard the new atmosphere in the world that has been created with such great effort. The USSR intends to continue to implement all the treaties and agreements that it has concluded on the premise that other states will also do the same.

I am convinced of the irreversibility of reforms and democratic development of the USSR, and that all the reforms being implemented in the country will be restored, above all the Union presidency. This process has already begun since decisions have just been adopted abrogating the restrictions on the publication of the newspapers that were closed down and the curfew has been lifted; the country has embarked on the path of common sense and common sense policy, the minister said.

In response to journalists' questions, he said that at all stages nuclear weapons were under the strict control of those organs to whom they have been entrusted. The minister also stressed that the entire diplomatic agenda would remain unchanged.

Work on Mideast Peace to Continue

LD2108190291 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 21 Aug 91

[By Konstantin Voitsekhovich, Sergey Postanogov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Excerpts] Moscow Aug 21 TASS—Soviet foreign policies remain intact, Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh told a news conference here today. "The Soviet Union's foreign policy course is unchanged, remaining just as charted by the president," he said. [passage omitted]

"The Soviet Union is ready to actively continue work on the preparations for a peace conference on the Middle East," he stressed.

The minister noted that in connection with recent events some difficulties arise in holding in Moscow a conference on human dimension of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

At the same time, he said that "the Soviet Foreign Ministry intends to hold this conference, "as it was planned. However," according to the minister, "everything will depend on further events and mood of the colleagues in other countries."

"We are thinking it over and will keep contact with governments of European nations, the United States and Canada," he said.

Nuclear Forces Not Out of Control

LD2108182191 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT 21 Aug 91

[By Konstantin Voitsekhovich, Sergey Postanagov, and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow Aug 21 TASS—During the coup the Soviet Strategic Missiles Forces "were under control of the competent bodies, and the structure of military command was not changed or modified in any way," Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh told a news conference here today.

"Fear that these forces could run out of control are groundless," he stressed.

Responding to correspondents' questions, the minister pointed out that guarantees that the recent developments will not repeat "lay in the mood of the Soviet people, their reluctance to deviate from the day of reforms and democratic development."

Aleksandr Bessmertnykh also told the news conference that after the coup began on August 19, he sent a telegram to Soviet ambassadors.

The telegram said, in particular, that "Soviet foreign policy remains as it was outlined by Soviet constitutional bodies and, that in this situation, the Soviet Foreign Ministry continues to act in accordance with the policy outlined by the Supreme Soviet and the presidential power."

There have been no direct instructions from the emergency committee to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the minister added.

The Soviet Union intends to fulfill all international agreements, the minister said. According to Besmertnykh, this concerns, among other things, the holding of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on further reduction of strategic offensive weapons early in October and consultations on space arms at the end of September.

"The Soviet Union is ready to continue actively work on the preparations for a peace conference on the Middle East," he stressed.

The minister noted that in connection with recent events some difficulties arise in holding in Moscow a conference on human dimension of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

At the same time, he said that "the Soviet Foreign Ministry intends to hold this conference," as it was planned. However, according to the minister, "everything will depend on further events and mood of the colleagues in other countries".

"We are thinking it over and will keep contact with governments of European nations, the United States and Canada," he said.

Bessmertnykh said that he "was not detained during the coup." No measures as regards the minister were taken.

Foreign Banks Suspend Operations With USSR

OW2208040391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0110 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Foreign banks have put a freeze on credit accounts for the joint ventures operating in the Soviet Union, officials of several partnerships in Moscow told INTERFAX news agency.

Vneshekonobank Urges Cooperation From Partners

OW2208041591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0110 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] USSR Vneshekonobank (the government's general agent for servicing debt to foreign creditors) in a statement signed by its chairman, Mr. Moskovskiy, and passed to INTERFAX news agency said the Soviet Union was meeting its payment obligations despite the recent upheaval.

The statement raised grievances about some western banking and financial institutions which had unilaterally broken off the terms of foreign exchange deals with Vneshekonobank by refusing to remit hard currency on its accounts in Europe. This creates operational difficulties for Vneshekonobank's leading correspondent banks.

Vneshekonobank regrets to say that a number of western banks have failed to comply with their obligations in spite of the long-standing contacts of mutual trust and

confidence it has enjoyed with leading financial and banking institutions of the West.

Vneshekonobank blames them for the defaults and implications that may follow.

For its part, runs the statement, Vneshekonobank has always proceeded from the commonly-recognised principles of cooperation accepted by international bankers.

It says that despite the recent political setback in the Soviet Union, Vneshekonobank has continued to pay on its liabilities, and to settle its foreign exchange and commercial accounts.

A bank official told Interfax news agency that the statement must not be seen as the bank's attempt to distance itself from political developments in the Soviet Union.

According to information at IF's [INTERFAX] disposal, Vneshekonobank is practically denied the possibility of getting involved in bank dealings such as computerised sales of securities and liabilities.

USSR Loses More Than $1 Billion Credit

OW2208055791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0110 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Reports say the European Community has suspended its aid to the Soviet Union following the arrival in power by the state emergency committee. This includes ECU [European Currency Units] 400 million in technical assistance and ECU 500 million in food imports from EC countries.

The food credit provided for imports of 1.5 million tonnes of barley, more than 1 million tonne of wheat, 200,000 tonnes of meat, 150,000 tonnes of vegetable oil, 25,000 tonnes of dry milk and 10,000 tonnes of soy beans, foreign trade officials told INTERFAX news agency.

United States & Canada

Further U.S. Reaction to Events in Moscow

Bush Conversation With Gorbachev

PM2208095191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "USSR and U.S. Presidents' Telephone Conversation"]

[Text] Washington, 21 Aug--The situation in the Soviet Union "is under control." U.S. President G. Bush said that he was told this by USSR President M.S. Gorbachev during a telephone conversation.

The U.S. leader shared this—as he described it—"good news" with journalists at Kennebunkport. Bush said that his conversation with Gorbachev lasted roughly 20 minutes. He noted that, in the Soviet president's opinion, "the constitutional authorities have resumed leadership and democracy, freedom, and reform have prevailed." "That is his assessment," Bush went on. "I hope that this is not anticipating the development of the situation in Moscow. They tried to carry out a coup but were defeated. However, it is not for us to announce that the coup is over."

I am very glad to hear that Gorbachev is well, Bush stressed. He is returning to Moscow soon and will work with the presidents of the other republics. There is a good foundation for that.

"I think that this is a good day for Soviet-U.S. relations," Bush said. "I expect these relations only to improve."

Gorbachev "expressed sincere gratitude to the peoples of the United States and other countries of the world for their support for democracy and reforms," the U.S. President noted.

Baker, Yakovlev Talk on Telephone

OW2108220391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Express Editon"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During a meeting at the Moscow city council with representatives of political parties, movements and mass media Aleksandr Yakovlev was told he was wanted on the phone. Upon his return Yakovlev told the audience that he had a phone call from the US Secretary of State James Baker.

Yakovlev quoted Baker as saying that on Thursday the US Congress will discuss developments in the Soviet Union and may adopt a resolution in support of democratic processes in the USSR.

Report on New U.S. Ambassador

LD2108225191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] In connection with the events that are taking place in the Soviet Union, the U.S. Administration has sent its new Ambassador Robert Strauss to Moscow. Sergey Levskoy, our correspondent in New York, is on the line.

[Levskoy] The mission of Robert Strauss is to find out about the situation in the Soviet Union on the spot. He will hold a meeting with American diplomats working in Moscow in order to receive information at first hand. It is expected that the ambassador will have a meeting with Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president. American observers also do not exclude the possibility that Robert Strauss will make efforts to organize a meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev.

At the swearing-in ceremony of the new ambassador, U.S. President George Bush said that during his stay in the Soviet Union Robert Strauss will not present his credentials. Next week he will return to Washington to inform the president about the events that are taking place in the USSR.

After the ceremony, the American President made a short statement saying that Soviet-U.S. relations can become normal again only if Mikhail Gorbachev returns to leadership. Bush did not announce the imposition of economic sanctions in response to the introduction of the state of emergency in the USSR. However, he warned that they cannot be excluded in the future.

Military Urges Planes To Leave U.S.

LD2108135291 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Washington August 21 TASS—U.S. military authorities have urged three Soviet military aircraft to leave the United States.

Two MiG-29 fighters and one IL-76 cargo aircraft arrived in the Elmendorf Air Base in Alaska on Tuesday to participate in exhibition flights at the invitation of the U.S. State Department.

After the aircraft were refueled, U.S. military authorities demanded they leave the country, referring to the cancellation of the invitation by the U.S. State Department.

A U.S. Air Force official said the decision was prompted by the recent events in the Soviet Union.

Scientists to Test Soviet-Designed Mars Vehicle

PM2108150591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Aug 91 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Mars Ground Vehicle Will Be Soviet"]

[Text] Washington, 19 Aug—Scientists from the U.S. Planetary Society, which brings together more than

100,000 specialists from over 100 countries, will take part in testing a Soviet Mars ground vehicle which is designed to land on the "Red Planet" and explore it thoroughly.

Together with Soviet specialists, a group of U.S. scientists headed by Planetary Society Executive Director L. Freedman will "road test" the Mars ground vehicle in Kamchatka where, in the experts' opinion, the topography is ideally suited to Mars ground vehicle trials because it is reminiscent of the lifeless expanses of Mars. Moreover, next spring the Soviet Mars ground vehicle will undergo thorough tests in the Mojave Desert in California, where scientists from the United States and the USSR will cooperate closely with each other.

It is planned that this scientific robot will be transported to Mars during the "Mars 1996" interplanetary expedition; besides the Planetary Society and the USSR Academy of Sciences Space Exploration Institute, French scientists will also take part in the experiment.

"Scientific robots like the Mars ground vehicle designed in the USSR will enable us to examine Martian rock samples that arouse our interest; they can move in any direction and essentially play the role of geologists in the field," Professor B. Murray, the Planetary Society's vice president, said. "The exploration of Mars is the goal all space powers are setting themselves," L. Freedman noted in turn. "This is an expensive and difficult task. Therefore we must attract as many of the world's outstanding talents as possible to this work." "The exploration of Mars by Soviet and U.S. scientists," the well-known astronomer and Planetary Society President C. Sagan stated to a TASS correspondent, "will enable us to significantly broaden our ideas about the solar system."

According to Soviet and U.S. specialists, the Mars ground vehicle should first and foremost help us to tackle scientific tasks like obtaining high-resolution panoramic color images of the surface of Mars; determining the chemical and mineralogical composition of the upper layers of the martian soil; seeking organic compounds in the planet's soil; researching the subsurface composition of Mars; and studying dust storm dynamics.

Unocal Probes For Oil Project in Azerbaijan

OW2208044291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0110 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A team of experts of America's Unocal corporation have arrived in Baku to look into a major project, Azeri, for offshore oil drilling in the Caspian Sea, Moscow-based daily Izvestiya reports. Unocal's president Richard Stegemayer praised Azeri experts and leadership for competence in offshore oil production expressing confidence that he could do business with such partners.

East Europe

East European Reaction to Events in Moscow

Havel's Reaction

PM2008185391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent L. Kornilov under general heading "The World Is Concerned: Foreign Reaction to Events in the USSR": "Prague"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] President V. Havel stated at a press conference that he is keeping in constant touch with the national defense minister and the chairman of the Slovak National Council. Prague Castle will establish contacts with the leaders of Poland, Hungary, and the Ukraine. A session of the CSFR Defense Council is scheduled for Tuesday. V. Havel said that "the latest events in the USSR cannot help reminding us of the sad historical events that took place more than 20 years ago on these same summer days." At the same time the CSFR president stated that "no danger threatens us."

According to an express public opinion poll broadcast on television Monday evening, 77 percent of those questioned in Prague and Brno think that the events of 19 August have harmed the Soviet Union, whereas 5 percent think they will improve things. Only 1 percent said they were pleased at what had happened. About 14 percent consider that what has happened should give impetus to a strengthening of democracy in Czechoslovakia. Many people believe that, "in order to prevent similar people from doing the same thing here," measures should be taken to strengthen defense capability and draw attention to protecting democracy and safeguarding the constitution.

The majority of newspapers report that deliveries of Soviet oil and gas are being made to Czechoslovakia according to schedule. This will continue to be the case, USSR Ambassador B. Pankin has assured the Czechoslovak Government. However, long lines have formed at gas stations—refueling now takes at least an hour in Prague.

Journalist Urges Opposition

LD2008225491 Prague CTK in English 1656 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 20 (CTK)—The parliamentary reporter of the Soviet daily IZVESTIYA and chairman of the Association of Soviet Parliamentary Journalists, Anatoliy Stepovoy, today urged his colleagues not to collaborate with the politicians who toppled President Mikhail Gorbachev on Monday.

In an interview with CTK, Stepovoy who is currently visiting Czechoslovakia, called on his colleagues in the Soviet Union "not to collaborate with representatives of the new junta, not to disgrace themselves and our

association by becoming mediators in spreading false and demagogic information."

Stepovoy pointed to the fact that only two days separate two sad dates: August 21, 1968, when a Soviet-led invasion crushed the communist-led reform movement in Czechoslovakia, and August 19, 1991, when Gorbachev was deposed.

Stepovoy sees two causes of the coup in the Soviet Union: the mistakes committed by Gorbachev himself over the past two years and the mistakes committed by the democratic movement in the Soviet Union. The engineers of the coup acted out of fear not for the country's future, but for the future of the (Communist) Party and the repressive apparatus, Stepovoy said.

He went on to say that paradoxically, the coup was carried out by people who were raised to their high-ranking posts by Gorbachev.

Stepovoy believes the hardliners made one essential mistake: They failed to detain Russian President Boris Yeltsin, whose authority as a popularly elected leader is immense.

What is strange is the silence of the leadership of the Ukraine, which is of key importance, Stepovoy said.

Regarding the economic aspects of the coup, he said huge damage to the Soviet Union will result from the breaking of its fragile ties with the world community.

Hungarian Consulates Comment

LD2008190891 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] We have telephoned the Hungarian consulates in Kiev and Leningrad to get information about the situations there:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] What do you notice in Kiev and in the neighborhood in regard to the state of emergency?

[Unidentified Hungarian consular official in Kiev] I can say very simply—nothing. There is complete quiet in the Ukraine, not only in Kiev, but in all the counties of the republic.

[Reporter] Many intend to cross into lower Carpathia in the coming days to visit relatives and friends. What is your advice to them?

[Hungarian consular official in Kiev] In our view, they can go without worry, as they have done up to now. Today, an hour ago, I spoke to the Uzhgorod Council. They told me that the border crossing is undisturbed, although the lines are somewhat smaller and fewer people are going; still tourists come and go as they have been doing. The official organs have not introduced any curbs whatsoever.

[Reporter] According to the latest information, a military convoy was moving toward Leningrad. Have the tanks stopped on the border of the town?

[Unidentified Hungarian consular official in Leningrad] Yes. The military convoy's march into the town did not take place. No armed men can be seen on the street. The street scene is quiet. There have been no disturbances. By the way, as the mayor of the town mentioned, even crime has declined.

The news spread in the West that a state of emergency has been introduced in the town is not true. The leadership of the town and the area are controlling the situation and taking care of the maintenance of order and supplies within their authority. [end recording]

Hungarian Envoy on Evacuation Plans

LD2108141991 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0510 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Excerpts] In the studio is Mihaly Hardi. We have set up a telephone link with the Hungarian Embassy in Moscow.

[Hardi] I am calling the Hungarian Embassy in Moscow. At the end of the line, if all this is true, is Sandor Gyoerke, our country's ambassador to Moscow. Good morning, Mr. Gyoerke.

[Gyoerke] Good morning.

[Hardi] The first and most important question is what, according to your information, is happening in Moscow now?

[Gyoerke] The situation has changed insofar as, unfortunately, there are the first victims. There are two dead from a smaller clash yesterday. There was a clash in the vicinity of the building of the Russian Federation, but later this became quiet. As we observed, in spite of the fact that there was a curfew from 2300 last night, this was not adhered to much. [passage omitted]

[Hardi] In this situation, how are your staff members getting information? Who are you able to maintain links with?

[Gyoerke] The embassy and its staff members are living their lives as normal. We get information by virtue of the fact that our staff members are present in the city, on the streets. We are in telephone contact with the official federal organs and we are conducting our affairs, the affairs of our citizens. We are in contact with certain representatives of the Supreme Soviet, so there is nothing extraordinary in this. The situation here is that it is not possible now to make contact with the members of the highest leadership, because they are very busy. Various bodies and forums are holding sessions. It is not good to call anyone out of those meetings.

[Hardi] You mentioned conducting the affairs of Hungarian citizens. Do we have any news about the fairly large Hungarian colony in Moscow and in the Soviet

Union? Have you made any preparations for the evacuation of relatives, women and children, for example? [Gyoerke] Yes. This is our duty and it is natural. I could say that we have set up a kind of crisis staff. In this are represented the workers of the embassy, the trade mission, and other organs here. We are trying to think through what we should do in various situations. We have our concepts for this, and as the situation develops, naturally we will be able to implement these with the mediation of our organs back at home. [passage omitted]

West Europe

West European Reaction to Coup, Events in Moscow

No Increased Alert for Forces in Germany

LD2008152191 Hamburg DPA in German 1444 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Berlin/Bonn (DPA)—An increase in the degree of combat readiness has not been ordered for the Soviet troops stationed in Germany. A spokesman for the command of the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Wuensdorf near Berlin stated this in reply to an inquiry today. He thus denied press reports that said that the command for an increased degree of combat readiness had been given.

It was also said in Bonn government circles that there was no information about an increased state of readiness of the USSR troops in eastern Germany.

Forces in Germany Execute Planned Tasks

LD1908155491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1008 GMT 19 Aug 91

[By correspondent Mikhail Voronenkov]

[Text] Berlin, 19 Aug (TASS)—Answering a TASS correspondent's question about the reaction of the Western Group of Forces to the address by the state committee for the emergency situation in the USSR, a spokesman for the press centre of the Western Group of Forces said:

"The formations and units of the Western Group of Forces are located in their places of permanent deployment. Officers and men are carrying out their planned tasks. Measures for the withdrawal of equipment and personnel from German territory continue."

Withdrawal of Troops in Germany Discussed

LD2208002691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent V. Mostovoy] The news about the changes in the Soviet Union has aroused a stormy reaction in Germany, not least because today units of the Western Group of forces with a total complement of 272,000 men are stationed on German territory. At times contradictory information about the events taking place in the country have caused a number of politicians unexpectedly to speak in favor of a sharp acceleration in the withdrawal of military units to the Soviet Union. All these factors gave particular significance to today's fifth session of the working group on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany. What were the main results of the meeting? [Video shows Soviet officers speaking to journalists and meeting with German officers]

[Begin recording] [I. Podgornyy, first deputy chief of the Western Group Headquarters] Everything that was laid down in the treaties governing our temporary stay on German territory and also in the plans for the withdrawal remains in force. Those plans for the withdrawal which have been drawn up and agreed will be implemented fully. [Video shows interview in progress]

[H. Franke, deputy chief of the department of German Armed Forces Headquarters, in German with Mostovoy translation] From the legal point of view the basis for our activities is the treaty between the USSR and Germany providing for the withdrawal of Soviet troops before 31 December 1994. On the basis of this treaty a joint action plan has been agreed, and this is being implemented very precisely by the Soviet side. This plan envisages that the withdrawal of Soviet troops will continue over the whole time period, and I do not see any necessity for demanding that the withdrawal be speeded up. Of course if the Soviet side finds additional possibilities, with transport and other matters, and is able to leave some bases earlier and hand them over to the population, we will welcome this. [end recording] [Video shows interview in progress]

EC Suspension of Cooperation

LD2008161891 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 20 Aug 91

[By correspondent Yevgeniy Kleshkov]

[Text] The Hague August 20 TASS—The European Community has decided to suspend economic cooperation with the Soviet Union "until the legal order is restored in the country."

This decision was taken today at an extraordinary session of the EC Council of Ministers as community foreign ministers discussed the situation in the USSR.

The session was held on the initiative of Hans van den Broek - head of the Foreign Ministry of the Netherlands, whose turn it is to chair the Community's bodies this half a year.

The decision envisages the suspense of economic aid to the Soviet Union, which runs into 400 million ECUs (European currency units), as well as the freezing of credit guarantees granted for food purchases to the sum of 500 million ECUs.

At the same time, the foreign ministers of "the Twelve" decided not to suspend food aid to the Soviet Union to

a total sum of almost 250 million ECUs under the condition that the Soviet leadership will present guarantees that the aid will arrive at the destination point.

The discussion of the current Soviet situation also resulted in a decision of the EC foreign ministers not to attend the Moscow conference on human dimension, part of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to be held this September if the Soviet leadership fails to satisfy their demands on restoration of the legal order.

In addition, in the near future, (probably, next Friday,) a meeting of prime ministers and presidents of "the Twelve" will be held for an additional discussion of the situation in the Soviet Union.

Mitterrand's 'Cautious' Comments

PM2008192991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by Yu. Kovalenko under the general heading: "The World Is Concerned. Foreign Reaction to Events in the USSR"]

[Text] Paris—The changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union go against the grain... I think these sharp changes may interrupt the movement toward democratization, but not stop it... That is how French President Francois Mitterrand assessed recent events in the Soviet Union in a television interview.

That is why I believe, he went on to say, that the country may resort to repressions and violence—I hope that that will not happen—but you have to believe in the process that was started in 1985 and particularly in 1986. It will be continued. You cannot simply crush a popular movement...

F. Mitterrand stressed that he had repeatedly made statements containing appeals not to waste time but to help Gorbachev, since perestroyka is a delicate process.

Citing the last letter he had received from M. Gorbachev about a week ago, in which he wrote about his meeting with President Bush and the "difficulties and dangers existing in the current phase of reforms," F. Mitterrand reported that he had also received a message from G. Yanayev, which was handed to him by the Soviet ambassador to France.

It says in particular: "Reforms will be continued, our choice has been made, we will preserve adherence to democracy and glasnost, we will create an economy which will include private enterprises, we will continue the policy aimed at guaranteeing civil rights and freedoms, and in the international sphere all signed agreements will be observed... So that the work initiated by M. Gorbachev is not discredited, we need to establish political stability in the country... I consider it my duty to report to you that M. Gorbachev is quite safe and is not in any danger." The president, as he put it, wanted to inform the French people about the contents of the message, but this did not mean that he accepted it at "face value."

If the new Soviet leaders do not keep their promises and do not observe the Helsinki agreements, the French president went on to stress, all assistance from the EC or Western countries, if it is not tied up with the implementation of genuine reforms, must be stopped. As for sanctions, it is too early to talk about them. A great deal depends on how the new Soviet leaders start acting, and what decisions they adopt. If, like M. Gorbachev, they want to continue the process of reforms, democratization, and improvement the international situation in all spheres, particularly as regards disarmament and the withdrawal of Soviet forces from central European countries and eastern Germany, then they must not waste time.

The French president also advocated holding a meeting of EC heads of state and government to thoroughly examine possible joint demarches and urgent actions. In his opinion, what happened in Moscow could quickly become an act of cold war, but at the moment it is only an internal political operation.

The French head of state was asked: If a danger of civil war arises and if the supporters of democratization and reforms appeal for assistance to the West, what must we do?

"Do not exaggerate the risk of disasters," the president answered. "We will examine each situation as it comes, each one in turn. At the moment this is not the case, and I hope it will not be. But if it does happen, then the EC and leading Western countries, and France in particular, must not give up any of the principles or guarantees that ensure peace in the world."

F. Mitterrand went on to recall "the right of intervention" recognized in the international agreements signed by the Soviet Union together with other states in Helsinki and then in Paris.

Commenting on what the French president said, the press notes his cautious and moderate tone. He warns the committee headed by G. Yanayev that its future depends on whether the reforms that were begun continue, LIBERATION writes.

Loan Talks 'Will Not Take Place'

OW2008122891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1156 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Express Edition No. 5"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF [INTERFAX] has learned that negotiations on extending an ECU [European currency unit] 500 million worth of credits to the Soviet Union by the European Community's bank consortium so that the USSR could

buy food in the EC countries will not take place, for a Soviet delegation has not left Moscow for the negotiations.

Under the proposed agreement, which has already been initialled by government delegations of the contracting parties, the EC was to guarantee the extension of this credit.

French Ministry Issues Statement

LD2008162991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] The French Foreign Affairs Ministry has issued a statement saying: The removal of Mikhail Gorbachev, in the event that it is confirmed as final, is a significant event, all the more so in that it is accompanied by the introduction of a state of emergency. In order to evaluate the significance of this event, both for the USSR and in international terms, a more precise definition must be awaited of the circumstances in which this removal took place, and of the measures that will be taken by those who carried out this removal.

Finnish Border Crossing Reopened

LD2008182291 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnishn 0900 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Summary] Traffic on the Finnish-Soviet border has operated normally during the night and the morning. The Niirala border crossing station in northern Karelia was reopened for traffic in the morning. Traffic in Niirala was stopped yesterday afternoon by the Soviet authorities.

Traffic on Finnish Border Normal

LD2008173591 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 0800 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Traffic on the Soviet-Finnish border has operated normally during the night and the morning. According to the frontier guards establishment, border crossings are operating normally at all crossing stations except the Niirala border crossing station in northern Karelia. The Soviet authorities interrupted border crossings there yesterday afternoon. Finnish and Soviet tourists were allowed to return to their homes through Niirala but no new tourist groups are allowed over the border.

This morning's flights to Moscow and Leningrad departed normally. There have been no disturbances in rail and ship traffic.

Finns Committed to 'Good Neighbor Relations'

PM2008184591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by V. Shmyganovskiy under the general headline: "The World Is Concerned: Foreign Reaction to Events in the USSR"]

[Excerpt] Helsinki—[passage omitted] The Finnish Government has expressed regret over the introduction of a state of emergency in the USSR. It stated that the situation which has emerged in the Soviet Union is being followed closely and expressed the hope that normal conditions will be restored as quickly as possible.

Later at a news conference Foreign Minister Paavo Vaeyrynen said something to the effect that Finland recognizes a state and not a government. If the situation calms down, then why not maintain contacts with the new leadership, that is, the country's foreign policy principle of "good neighbor relations," proclaimed on more than one occasion by President Mauno Koivisto, remains unaltered.

Shevardnadze Talks With Major

OW2108221891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of the Soviet Foreign policy association Eduard Shevardnadze had a telephone conversation with the British Prime Minister John Major on Wednesday.

The British premier voiced full support for democratic forces in their efforts and confirmed his condemnation of the coup attempt in the USSR.

Mr. Major expressed concern about President Gorbachev's fate and said he was certain that legally elected government in the country would be restored.

He expressed support for all those who were not afraid to stand up to defend the constitution, freedom and human rights. The British Prime Minister supported the position of the Russian government, the movement for democratic reforms and all democratic forces.

Madrid Embassy Denies Supporting Coup

LD2108234291 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] From the Soviet Embassy in Madrid no official statement is being made, given the confusion which still surrounds the latest events. Nevertheless, in reply to questions from RNE the acting ambassador's press attache (Aleksandr Sporgin) wanted to make it clear that

at no time was there support from the embassy for the coup in the Soviet Union in spite of the fact that this impression may have been gained from the news media:

[Begin Sporgin recording in Russian with superimposed Spanish translation] This impression is mistaken because the Soviet Embassy never supported the attempted coup. We had to obey all the instructions which the Soviet state gave us and we must be very careful about statements. We shared all the alarm and consternation of the people, but we do not have the right to make statements for which we are not authorized. The rumors that we supported the coup only demonstrate the lack of understanding of our position. [end recording]

Objectives of FRG Military Inspection Achieved

PM2008151391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Aug 91 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Trial Inspection"]

[Text] FRG representatives carried out a trial inspection of a Soviet Ground Forces facility on the territory of Kiev Military District 12-15 August. The objectives of the inspection, which was carried out within the framework of measures taken by states participating in the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe in connection with preparations for its implementation, were achieved. In the sides' opinion, the experience gained will facilitate the treaty's effective fulfillment.

Supreme Soviet

Presidium Holds Meeting to Review Situation

PM2208105991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Sitting"]

[Text] I.D. Laptev and R.N. Nishanov, chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, held a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sitting in the Kremlin 21 August.

The sitting, in which members of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee also took part, examined the prevailing situation in the country in connection with the creation of the so-called State Committee on the State of Emergency, and the decisions promulgated on its behalf. It was announced that A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, flew out to the Crimea for a meeting with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a resolution on the question under discussion, which says in particular:

To pronounce illegal the de facto removal of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev from the performance of his constitutional duties and the transfer of these duties to the USSR vice president.

To submit for examination by an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet the proposal on the creation of a commission of inquiry to resolve the question of bringing proceedings against the officials guilty of violating the USSR constitution.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will continue its work 22 August.

Nishanov, Laptev at Session

LD2108200391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A very important session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held today. It was led by Ivan Dmitriyevich Laptev and Rafik Nishanovich Nishamov, the chairmen of the two chambers of our parliament. Over to you, Ivan Dmitriyevich.

[Laptev] I would like Rafik Nishanovich to speak first, if he does not object.

[Nishanov] Ivan Dmitriyevich and I today presided over a very important and very emotional session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at which the chairman and members of the USSR Committee for Constitutional Supervision were present, in addition to the members of the Presidium. Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, did not take part in the discussion because he left by air for the Crimea today for a meeting with the country's president, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The discussion of the question was at a high pitch, and I would say, stormy; the discussion was in keeping with the situation that has now developed in the country. The discussion was of course devoted precisely to the actions taken by the State Committee for the State of Emergency and to the documents issued by that committee.

At the very beginning of the session, the members of the Presidium paid serious attention to the tragic events that have happened in Moscow and in some points of the Soviet Union. The members of the Presidium stood and with a minute of silence expressed sympathy with the families of those who died, and expressed the attitude that such actions are intolerable anywhere. The members of the Presidium also very strongly expressed the view that whatever actions we may carry out at this difficult time, and even at the calmest of times, they must be based only on the Constitution of the USSR and of the republics, and be based on the laws; and if we are in any way discussing the issue of the country's president, then that discussion, at whatever level, can only take place in the presence of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the president of our country. The Presidium passed a strongly worded resolution, which I would ask Ivan Dmitriyevich to read to the viewers.

[Laptev] I would support the description of today's Presidium session which Rafik Nishanovich has given, and would add just one thing. To all intents and purposes, that Presidium meeting began on Monday morning, because from that very moment there was an unending flow of telephone calls, cables, and appeals, and we had delegations from all republics and all deputies of the most varied levels who were alarmed by the situation that had emerged, and who were demanding a definite answer and support from us.

[Announcer] Was it hard to make contact with them, Ivan Dmitriyevich?

[Laptev] You know, our communications did not always work well either, although whatever other problems we have, we are at least well provided with communications. But it was not just a case of them seeking support from us; we needed their support too. In this regard, I want to stress especially that we received enormous support, above all from the leadership of the Russian Federation, and from the leadership of the Ukraine, the leadership of Kazakhstan, the leadership of Belorussia, and from virtually all the republics, even those republics that were not planning to sign the Union treaty and are themselves in an extremely tense situation now. Even they called in and said: We support this position. Everything must be done within the framework of the Constitution, on the basis of the laws, and under the supervision of the legislative bodies of power elected by the people.

[Announcer] Especially as we are seeking to create a law-governed state.

[Laptev] Since we have embarked on this road and decided to build a law-governed state, we must not start building it by destroying all the seeds of law. The Presidium discussed all this very heatedly, I would even say fiercely, today, and adopted a short resolution. It will become clear at the end why it is a short resolution, but I will now take the liberty of actually reading it out, so as not to leave out any important nuances:

First: To consider illegal the factual removal of USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev from the execution of his constitutional obligations, and their transfer to the USSR vice president.

To demand that USSR Vice President Yanayev immediately repeal his decrees and the resolutions on the state of emergency based on them, as being legally invalid from the moment of their issue.

Third. To submit for consideration by an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a proposal on the establishment of an investigatory commission to resolve the question of bringing to account those officials guilty of violating the USSR Constitution.

Now for why we adopted such a short resolution and did not adopt a number of other resolutions, which would be perfectly obvious in the present situation: tomorrow, the Supreme Soviet Presidium will continue its work and will make a consistent examination of all the issues connected with today's situation. We hope and believe that those comrades whom we await impatiently in Moscow will be able to take part in this work—I have in mind first and foremost Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the president of our country, of course.

Second, I would like to add that in connection with the third point, the USSR Procuracy has already opened a case concerning the responsibility of those persons who are guilty of violating the laws and the Constitution of the USSR in connection with the imposition of a state of emergency by the so-called Committee for the State of Emergency. I think that in time we will brief all television viewers on this, but for now I would like to express the hope that this work, and what is going on right now in Moscow and in other republics, nevertheless demonstrates that we can, all the same, manage to overcome a critical, incredibly complex, and dangerous situation through our joint efforts.

Lukyanov Resolves to Reconvene Supsov 17 Sep

LD1608105491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] The text of a decision by USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Lukyanov has come in to the editorial office today. It says that the sixth session of the country's Supreme Soviet will open on 17 September in the city of Moscow.

Supreme Soviet to Debate Video Piracy

LD1108152991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Aug 91

[Text] Last week the commission on culture of the all-Union parliament investigated the scandal involving the sale of almost 600 films at the television exchange in Moscow. In order to protect our country from video piracy, it was decided to sign the Bern convention on the protection of literary and artistic works. The matter will be debated by the Supreme Soviet in October. The dues of 235,000 dollars will be met by the creative association for video films.

Deputies Not To Suspend Party Activity

PM0608100991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Aug 91 p 1

[Unattributed report under "News" rubric: "Still Alone"]

[Text] There will still be just one party organization—the Communist Party's—in the Union parliament in the foreseeable future. Gennadiy Kiselev, secretary of the CPSU primary cell of full-time USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, told RIA's [Russian Information Agency] correspondent that he does not deem it advisable to suspend the activity of the deputies' party organization since it includes a majority of people who have come from other regions and who have nowhere to register. At the same time he did not rule out the possibility of discussing the question of departyization at a party conference after the parliamentary vacation ends in September.

Political & Social

Attempted Coup Fails; Gorbachev Reassumes Duties

Supreme Soviet Declares Removal Illegal

LD2108180591 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—Soviet parliament leaders today ruled the effective removal of President Mikhail Gorbachev from power unlawful and urged an investigation of those responsible for the unconstitutional act.

The decisions came at a meeting of parliament's steering Presidium in the Kremlin, which was conducted by Ivan Laptev and Rafik Nishanov, chairmen of the Supreme Soviet legislature's two houses.

The meeting, also attended by Constitutional Compliance Committee members, was called to examine the situation in the country after the proclamation of the so-called state-of-emergency committee and its decrees.

Parliament Speaker Anatoliy Lukyanov, the meeting was told, had left for the Crimea to meet Gorbachev.

The Presidium issued the following resolution after the day's debate:

1. To consider the effective removal of federal President Mikhail Gorbachev from the performance of his constitutional duties and their transfer to the federal vice president to have been illegal.

2. To demand that federal Vice-President Gennadiy Yanayev immediately rescind his decrees and related resolutions on the state of emergency as legally invalid from the moment they were issued.

3. To suggest at the upcoming Supreme Soviet special session that it form a commission of investigation to decide the issue of bringing officials guilty of having violated the federal constitution to responsibility.

The Presidium will resume the meeting on Thursday.

Gorbachev in 'Full Control'

LD2108192591 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev said today he is in full control of the situation in the country now that his links to the nation, cut off by adventurist actions by a group of state officials, have been restored.

His statement, made at about 2000 Moscow time, was reported by central television in its prime time news programme Vremya (Time).

Returns to Moscow

LD2108235291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2338 GMT 21 Aug 91

["Urgent for State TV and Radio Company: Return of M.S. Gorbachev"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Aug (TASS)—USSR President M.S. Gorbachev returned to Moscow tonight.

Gorbachev Statement to Media

PM2108225791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading "News of the Day": "Statement by the President of the USSR"]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has made a statement for the country's radio and television. He stressed that he is fully in charge of the situation and that communication with the country, interrupted as a result of the adventurist actions of a group of state officials, have been restored. The president will commence the full performance of his duties in the next 24 hours. The USSR president has held telephone conversations with Comrades Yeltsin, Nazarbayev, Kravchuk, Dementey, and Karimov. They all unanimously condemned the attempted antistate coup, which was thwarted as a result of resolute actions by the democratic forces of the country. The leaders of the republics have reported that these anticonstitutional actions have been supported by neither the supreme authorities nor the peoples of the republics. The adventurists will bear full responsibility for their illegal actions. M.S. Gorbachev has issued an instruction to Chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Moiseyev to withdraw all troops to their places of permanent stationing. And to henceforth carry out only the orders of the USSR president. On 21 August M.S. Gorbachev held a telephone conversation with U.S. President Bush. The U.S. President expressed his deep satisfaction that the very complex situation which had arisen as a result of the unconstitutional actions of a group of officials had been cut short. For his part, President Gorbachev stressed that society and the peoples of the country had rejected this adventure. The qualitatively new processes engendered in the course of democratic transformations will continue in the USSR. The presidents agreed to maintain constant contact and to continue cooperation in all areas in line with the accords previously reached.

Gorbachev Interviewed in Moscow

LD2208025291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0130 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Interview with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the Soviet Union, by V. Lyubovtsev, in Moscow on 22 August—live or recorded]

[Text] You are listening to the Mayak radio station. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the president of the Soviet Union, has arrived in Moscow. Here is the first interview for Soviet television and radio.

[Lyubovtsev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, if I may, it is of course late in the day, you are very tired. Our country spent three days in dreadful tension and immense alarm for its president, for its future, for the fate of democracy. What would you like to say during these first, very first minutes on Soviet—excuse me—on Moscow soil, I am very much overcome with emotion.

[Gorbachev] The most important thing, everything that we have been doing since 1985 has already yielded its real results. Society, our people are different now and this was the main obstacle impeding this adventure upon which a group of persons embarked. From the very outset it—I will speak about this later—society must know, the entire world must know, what they were up to and what they wanted to do with me and what they wanted from me and did not get from me. I shall tell you later, perhaps tomorrow, the day after tomorrow at the latest. I will convene a broad conference. They did not succeed. I congratulate our Soviet people who have a sense of responsibility, a sense of dignity, and a concern for respecting all those to whom they entrust power. This mere pitiful handful of people—using attractive slogans and exploiting the difficulties that we all know about and that we are all exercised about and that we intend to

solve, and there can be no two ways about it—wanted under those slogans to push the people onto a path that would have pushed the whole of our society into disaster. They have not succeeded and this is a very great victory for perestroyka. What they attempted to do to the president and his family in these days, when for 72 hours they surrounded him with troops on sea and on land and wanted to break him. Nothing came of it.

Nothing came of this. But this is one part of the matter. The second part is that I express my gratitude to the Soviet people. I express my gratitude to the inhabitants of Russia, to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the president of Russia, to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, to all the deputies and all the labor collectives who stood decisively in the path of this shady enterprise, for their fundamental stand. This is something we can be proud of. Alongside them there is the same uncompromising and resolute position in favor of those things that have emerged here.

We have quite a few problems, and we are aware of them. They worry us. I was dealing with them when I was planning my holidays, and I was dealing with the same issues every day during my holidays. Those things are foodstuffs, fuel, financial affairs, our ruble, the situation on the market, and the situation our people can find themselves in tomorrow. We have to do all these things. But those people, having used those difficulties of the transitional period, the extraordinary tension within society and worries regarding our future, and being under the pressure of those difficulties, decided to implement their far-reaching plans to plunge our society into disaster. It is a shady entreprise. I turned it down when emissaries came to me proposing that I should support this shady enterprise. I said that it will be ruinous for them and for the country. I am resolutely against it. I demanded that the congress should be convened immediately, at least its Supreme Soviet. I am yet to talk about the details of all that happened during these days. For 72 days [as heard] the president of the country was blockaded and isolated from the people, from the country, and from the world, and he had to stand up for it. Probably, their aim was to demolish the president morally, to break him, and to exert influence on his family. Nothing came out of this. First and foremost, it did not succeed because I was sure that this would not work. All the rest I will say later.

[Lyubovtsev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, thank you. You have listened to the interview given by USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to political observer Viktor Lyubovtsev.

Telephones Bush

LD2108183291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had a telephone conversation today with U.S. President Bush. The U.S. President expressed his profound satisfaction that the highly dangerous situation which arose as a result of the unconstitutional actions of a group of people has been brought to an end. For his part, President Gorbachev stressed that society and the peoples of the country have rejected that escapade. The qualitatively new processes which have emerged in the course of democratic transformations will continue in the USSR. The presidents agreed to maintain permanent contact and to continue to cooperate in all areas, in keeping with accords reached previously.

Telephones Yeltsin, Others

LD2108183591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The president of the USSR had telephone conversations with Comrades Yeltsin, Nazarbayev, Kravchuk, Dementey, and Karimov. All of them unanimously condemned the attempt at an antistate coup which was smashed as a result of resolute actions by the country's democratic forces. They reported that these anticonstitutional actions were supported neither by the supreme authorities nor by the peoples of the republics. Confidence was expressed that that adventurists will bear full responsibility for their illegal actions.

Coup Leaders Suffering Results of Failure

Arrests Reported

LD2208065891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0630 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] The REUTER agency, quoting Stankevich's statement, has reported the arrest of Yanayev, Yazov, Kryuchkov, Tizyakov, and Pugo. Baklanov was also arrested, but he has been released since he has immunity as a people's deputy.

Kryuchkov Arrest Announced

LD2208074291 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] It has been announced in Moscow that KGB chief Vladimir Kryuchkov was arrested. He and other members of the State Emergency Committee will be brought to trial.

TASS Reports Pugo Suicide

LD2208090591 Moscow TASS in English 0858 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Soviet Interior Minister Boris Pugo, a member of the so-called Emergency Committee, committed suicide when a group of officials sent to detain him attempted to enter his flat, the special session of the Russian parliament was told today.

Pugo's wife was found gravely injured. The circumstances under which she was wounded are as yet unknown.

Tizyakov Removed From Scientific Union

LD2108183691 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—A statement of the bureau of the board of the Soviet Scientific and Industrial Union was circulated here today.

The statement says the following:

1. To remove Aleksandr Tizyakov from the post of vice-president of the Scientific and Industrial Union of the USSR and from membership in the union board for his participation in anti-constitutional actions, including the creation of the so-called Emergency Committee and actual introduction of a regime which resulted in human victims.

2. To ask the association of state enterprises and amalgamations of industry, construction, transport and communications of the USSR to consider the holding by Aleksandr Tizyakov of the post of the association president.

[Signed] Bureau of the Board of the Scientific and Industrial Union of the USSR

Moscow Described as Returning to Normal

LD2108205791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] Today, by decision of the collegium of the USSR Ministry of Defense, the withdrawal of military subunits and units from the areas where the state of emergency was in effect began to their normal stations. How was it in Moscow?

[I. Pankov] This is how Red Square appeared to us this afternoon after the tanks had just left it. Now the square is cordoned off by the militia. At the Moscow soviet building there is also nothing left to remind you of the tragic night in the city.

This is Kalinin Prospekt, the road leading to the Russian Supreme Soviet building. This is just one of the barricades on one of the further approaches to it. Last night it was swept away. By the middle of the day there were no tanks or armored personnel carriers on Pushkin Square.

Here at the building of the editorial board of the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI newspaper, the latest news was exchanged and reported. Now people know that the military coup has suffered a failure. But not far from Pushkin Square, by the building of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers we found soldiers. [video shows: empty Red Square, Pushkin Square free of tanks, smashed barricade on Kalinin Prospekt, crowds cheering as tanks withdraw, tanks outside Cabinet of Ministers building, where crowds stare and one woman shouts "leave, leave here"] [passage omitted]

Tanks, Equipment Being Withdrawn

OW2108120091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The withdrawal of military equipment from Moscow has begun. According to eye witness reports this morning, no tanks were reported in the area of the Kremlin. The equipment, according to the General Staff, is being removed from its positions in Moscow, although at the moment it would be premature to say that it will all be removed from the city and will return to its permanent bases. A final decision on this, according to the General Staff, will be taken depending on the course of events, despite the fact that on Tuesday the commandant of Moscow, speaking on the telephone with representatives of Moscow City Council, spoke of the withdrawal of troops and equipment. As far as troops are concerned, they will continue to guard important sites without using military equipment. As IF [INTERFAX] was informed, troops will be used to patrol the streets together with representatives of the Moscow militia, in accordance with the order of the military commandant of Moscow. As the head of the paratroopers of the USSR, General Lieutenant Evgeniy Podkolzin, reports, at 1500 hours on August 21 military equipment and paratroopers will begin to be withdrawn from Moscow.

Gorbachev Advisers Hold News Conference

LD2108171891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] A news conference was held in Moscow today by the advisers to USSR President Gorbachev.

Volskiy, president of the country's Scientific and Industrial Union, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and a USSR people's deputy, made a statement. He noted that on the night of 18 to 19 August, the forcible removal of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev from power took place. A group of people who in fact had isolated the head of state demanded that he sign a decree introducing a state of emergency. The USSR president refused to do this.

Volskiy said that the statement claiming that Gorbachev was ill was a fabrication. On his own behalf and on behalf of a group of people's deputies, he demanded that an extraordinary USSR Congress of People's Deputies be convened with an obligatory speech by Gorbachev at the congress.

A demand that the anti-constitutional nature of the coup be denounced was addressed to the CPSU Central Committee.

Primakov, Bakatin, and Volskiy proposed to leaders of republics that an emergency sitting of the Council of the Federation with the participation of Gorbachev be held.

Primakov reported that in the near future he, Silayev, Rutskoy, Bakatin, and Stolyarov would fly from Moscow to Crimea to meet Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He stressed that much work needs to be done in order to get events back into constitutional channels.

Bakatin, member of the Security Council, stressed that it is necessary to fight for the restoration of constitutional norms without shedding blood and that it is important to persuade a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet to revoke the state of emergency.

Volskiy refuted rumors that Gorbachev knew about the coup in advance. The president was presented with an ultimatum which he did not accept. We cannot assume that the dangers of the coup are now behind us. The meeting with journalists ended on this sad note.

Give Chronology of Coup Events

LD2108192891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1630 GMT 21 Aug 91

[News conference given by Vitaliy Ignatenko, Yevgeniy Primakov, Vadim Bakatin, and Arkadiy Volskiy in the USSR Scientific Industrial Union in Moscow on 21 August—recorded]

[Text] [Ignatenko] We are holding an official news conference at which we would like to acquaint you with the latest events. I should like to stress that none of those present at this table considers himself a man of the past. And for this reason I should like to acquaint you only with those events in which those comrades present here were participants. I should like to give the floor first to Comrade Volskiy.

[Volskiy] I should like to say immediately—do we need a translation into English or not? [voices say "no"] Can we not translate? [voices say "you can"] We will give you a text of the statement in English later—you are hearing it in Russian.

So, respected ladies and gentlemen, dear comrades, I consider it necessary to inform the public of the following. As is known, during the night of 18-19 August Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the president of the USSR, was forcibly removed from power. A group of individuals virtually isolated the head of state and demanded that Gorbachev sign a decree on the introduction of a state of emergency in the country. The president of the USSR refused to do this. The statement about the alleged illness of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev which had taken place and his incapacity at that moment was a fabrication—something which I am fully empowered to state, on the basis of a telephone conversation which I had with him during the second half of Sunday 18 August.

This conversation took place on Mikhail Sergeyevich's initiative by means of an ordinary town telephone line when he was at his dacha. In the course of the conversation, Mikhail Sergeyevich said that he feels well, except for suffering from lumbago which he has had before. As far as I know, many members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] have illnesses much more serious in character. [laughter among press]

I view the removal of Gorbachev as being illegal. It must be said that the democratic forces in the country have criticized Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on more than one occasion for indecisiveness, inconsistency, gross mistakes in the selection of cadres, and shortcomings in the implementation of reforms. I have spoken of this on more than one occasion, including at the CPSU Central Committee plenum in April and in a recent television interview. I consider that what has just taken place does bear witness to his miscalculations regarding cadres.

However, none of this provides an excuse for removing him from power. People really do want the reinforcement of order in the country. They are worried by the disorder and wavering in the leadership, the war of laws, and they are really worried by the fall in living standards and inter-ethnic conflicts. These problems need to be resolved. This is something which the scientific-industrial union has stated more than once, but not by using tanks.

Reforms which are tied up with the use of force cannot bring good. Such actions place the country on the brink of civil war.

On the basis of what has been said, I state first: Right up until his isolation Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbacehv, the USSR president, was healthy and capable of carrying out his duties. The members of the SCSE who have carried out this action bear all responsibility for his safety and health. As a USSR people's deputy, and on behalf of the scientific-industrial group of people's deputies, I demand the immediate convening of an emergency Congress of USSR People's Deputies, with Gorbachev speaking at it without fail.

I call upon the members of the Security Council present here—Comrade Primakov and Comrade Bakatin, and also Comrade Bessmertnykh, who is ill, to carry out the functions they have under the USSR constitution and take upon themselves the necessary responsibility to coordinate actions directed toward overcoming the crisis and restoring legitimate power.

As a member of the CPSU Central Committee, I call on the Central Committee to condemn the anti-constitutional nature of the coup. It is necessary to sweep any kind of suspicion away from the party.

Fifth [as heard]: I appeal to leaders of republics for an emergency meeting of the Federation Council to be held immediately, with Gorbachev taking part.

Sixth: Basing myself on the views of labor collectives and workers and leaders of industry in all republics, I call on the SCSE on no account to permit any further negative development of events in any part of the country.

I address myself to the conscience and reason of the members of the SCSE and beg them to display civic wisdom, disband themselves of their own accord, and immediately return authority to the president of the country. Thank you for your attention.

[Ignatenko] Esteemed comrades, esteemed ladies and gentlemen! Don't rush. We have more reason to rush than you do. In a few minutes' time members of the Security Council of the USSR Comrade Bakatin and Comrade Primakov are leaving for the Crimea for a meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. This will be the second aircraft flying out today. Comrade Silayev and presumably Comrade Rutskoy and other comrades will fly on the same aircraft. This will be the second—no, I believe it will be the second aircraft flying out today. The first aircraft is in the air. According to our information, on board that aircraft are Comrade Lukyanov, Comrade Ivashko, and other comrades. We therefore have very little time, and I hand over the floor to Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov.

[Primakov] I would like to say first of all that I fully agree with those appraisals which have just been heard in Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy's speech. The actions which were carried out really are of a completely anti-constitutional nature. These actions cannot be justified from any point of view at all. This was an attempt to isolate the president, an attempt to deprive him of power, an attempt by an unconstitutional group of individuals which has no authoritative powers from the people to take power into their own hands. Here, I am speaking about this quite definitely and there cannot be any other appraisals here, it seems to me. In any case we do not have any.

The second thing that I want to say is that work, very serious work, is naturally being done the whole time directed toward returning events to the normal constitutional channel. Work in many directions is underway and the work of the leadership of the Russian Federation undoubtedly plays a very great role here. Under these conditions it has been decided at the session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet—this issue was considered—it was decided that Comrade Silayev, Comrade Rutskoy, Comrade Bakatin and I and Comrade Stolyarov, who is in this room now, should fly out to meet Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev now.

We hope that we will see the president in just as healthy a state as he was in up to the 18th. We hope for that. Another line of work that has been carried out is, of course, the meetings that have constantly been going on with Vice President Yanayev, during which the need has been stated perfectly clearly for the Army to be withdrawn from the streets of towns. Yanayev has assured us that such a decision has been adopted, and that indeed the Army will be withdrawn from the streets of the towns of the Soviet Union. I think that altogether, for now what we need is simply more information, that is the most important thing I would like to say, and right now, evidently, we simply have to...

[Ignatenko] Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin.

[Primakov] Yes, over to Vadim Viktorovich, and after that we evidently have to [words indistinct as Bakatin begins to speak].

[Bakatin] I am in an altogether strange position. We do indeed have all the information that is available, and we do not keep any of it secret from one another. There is absolutely nothing for me to say apart from this: You have seen that they just called me to the telephone. They are demanding that we drive out to the aircraft without delay, because, you understand, we have spent 48 hours trying to get an opportunity to get in touch somehow with the president, and thanks, in fact, to the firm stand of Russia's President Yeltsin, this opportunity has come about. So we have to be on our way. I can only...well, simply, I hasten to say that I totally support all the statements that have been made before me, that is obvious, but I would like to just accentuate one point, perhaps, that I tried to use in my speech at the Russian session that has just taken place. What I have in mind is that apart from these points—one, the withdrawal of the Army; two, the end to the blockade of Gorbachev, the legitimate president of the USSR; and three, that is the activities of the Supreme Soviets, of the legislative bodies. It is very important that they keep in touch about their work, very important that here the Russian parliament, the parliament of the Ukraine, the parliament of Kazakhstan—something especially important for the forthcoming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet—is that they should not let themselves be persuaded, particularly the USSR Supreme Soviet itself, and that they should abolish and refuse to endorse all the illegality that is presently flooding our country. It is important that this process should now be conducted in a calm atmosphere, without being nervous—although, as you can see, we are all a little nervous. It is important not to permit any blood here, very important to fight, but to fight in a way that will not feed the flames, and to direct it all into the channel of normal parliamentary activity. And so I ask your forgiveness, we simply have to get up in fact and...

[Ignatenko] Let's thank our comrades and wish them great success.

[Bakatin] That is the situation we have gotten into. Excuse us, we have to fly. Thank you. [applause; Bakatin and Primakov leave]

[Correspondent] Arkadiy Ivanovich, I represent the SOYUZ weekly, the supplement to IZVESTIYA, an emergency issue of which was blocked early this morning on orders by Yefremov, a director of the publication. My question to you is this: You knew—you knew perfectly well—you had sufficient information about Gorbachev's state of health. Nevertheless, for two critical days we did

not hear from you, not from the walls of the Russian parliament, about Gorbachev's state of health—you then heard from other sources other information—or even about your own position. Explain to us, please, if this is not so, then I am prepared to apologize.

[Volskiy] I think that my position is known to all members of the SCSE, the leaders of the Russian parliament, the members of the Security Council and others with whom we had been working for three days and nights without leaving these premises.

[Sudarkin] ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA.

[Volskiy] Please.

[Sudarkin] A group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies met with Lukyanov, who said literally the following, that Gorbachev knew about everything that what was happening, and literally, by all accounts, sanctioned what is now happening in the country.

[Volskiy] This is absolute lies! I now pass the floor to Comrade Vladislavlev, Aleksandr Pavlovich the leader of the group. Aleksandr Pavlovich... [looks around the room for him]

[Unidentified voice] He has gone to see them off.

[Volskiy] OK, he has gone to see them off, he will be back in a moment.

[Ignatenko] [to Volskiy] One moment...

[Volskiy] I can tell you one thing that this is all lies.

[Ignatenko, aside] Please sit down.

[Volskiy, answering indistinct question from floor] I do not know, I think it is a fantasy of the deputies!

[Ignatenko] Please sit down, Arkadiy Ivanovich. I would like to present to you, esteemed comrades...

[Volskiy] Vladislavlev will be back in a moment.

[Ignatenko] I would like for the moment to pass the floor to Georgiy Khosroyevich Shakhnazarov, aide to the USSR president, who has been in contact with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and who was the last, I think, among those who are present here at this table to be in contact with him. Please.

[Shakhnazarov] Comrades, I have just been speaking in the Supreme Soviet. [voices in background] I am saying that I have been speaking in the Russian Supreme Soviet. I was given the floor there, and I can repeat what probably interests you most of all. I will leave appraisals to one side, ours are roughly all the same, but I can tell you this. I was resting alongside Mikhail Sergeyevich in the leisure center, the sanatorium, and we chatted on a number of occasions. He has the habit of working intensively during his leave. And so it was this time, he worked a good deal, and was dictating. From time to time he was in contact with us, not physically, but on the telephone. Well, as usual, we discussed various problems. On the last occasion the call was on the 18th at 1600. It so happened that I had just come back from a walk and I glanced at my watch, and at that time I was told that Mikhail Sergeyevich had phoned. I got in touch with him, and the conversation went like this: Well, are we going tomorrow? The next day—the 19th, at 2000—had been arranged for the departure, the flight out from there. I said to him, well, let's go then—how is the speech going? We once again discussed what precisely, in what direction all this is going. We spoke, I would say, for about 5 to 7 minutes in all. Well, this is a very important speech. Then he asked, what news was there, we discussed what the press what was saying, and so on. We shared some impressions about events.

[Shaknazarov] And finally I asked him—how is your health. I had heard that he had some pain with his lumbago like I have, to tell the truth, because, you know, the south, it is very easy to catch a cold there. And he said OK, everything is fine, they have been treating me for it a bit. So everything will be fine. This was at 1600 on the 18th. I hung up and then five minutes later picked up the phone again so as to talk with another comrade, the line had been disconnected. And for the rest of the day none of our telephones worked. However it must be said that the following day Yevgeniy Maximovich [Primakov] and I—he has probably already told you - fairly calmly, without any difficulties, booked our seats, received our tickets and returned to Moscow. This is the information I think will be useful for you.

[Unidentified "Vremya" correspondent] The Vremya program. Two questions. The first question. Have any of those here present at the news conference had a meeting in the last two days with members of the SCSE? And the second question: Foreign agencies have reported that Kryuchkov and Yazov have resigned. Do you have any information on this?

[Volskiy] I can say one thing, comrades. For God's sake, in recent days there have been very many sensations justified and unjustified, and thought up ones and ones that have not been thought up. As you see this sensation that Gorbachev knew about everything—this was a thought up sensation. I can imagine who put it about. The issue is something else. Gorbachev actually did on the 18th receive envoys from here, future members of the committee, as I have already said, who demanded that he sign a law on the introduction of state of emergency which he refused to do. That is in regard to the first part of the question.

The second part of the question. I think that of those of us sitting here, three, two members of the Security Council and me, there has not been a single day when we have not met with members of the SCSE. Not a single day. This was the main point of our work. Including all of last night after all sorts of serious news from the Russian Federation government and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. Comrade Stolyarev was there, the

last time I spoke with him he was there, I was on the phone, the last time was at 0100.

Therefore, all of this was used so that at all costs there should be no bloodshed permitted. I think that the fact that the decision was adopted on the withdrawal of troops from Moscow and from other cities is in no small part attributable to the fact that such work was carried out.

The second question relating to the resignation. I think that it does not correspond to reality, at least at the present time, we do not have such information. I am not sure that today, they can even exist.

[Ignatenko] I would simply like to add a couple of words. It is simply my appeal as a colleague to be very circumspect, so to speak, and to very careful with the information you are giving to the large body of Soviet and foreign viewers, readers, and listeners. Unfortunately, a lot of rumors are circulating now that have no basis. Our task today is just this, to enlighten you, somehow, as to what we really do know. I would really like it if we did not have the sort of cases when speeches are dictated straight from our apparatus to the effect that, for example, all members of the extraordinary committee have left to meet Gorbachev at the airport and so on.

This strikes a remarkable and very hurtful and alarming chord in the mood of our people. I ask you to be extremely careful with all the information at your disposal.

[Correspondent] [Name indistinct] Russian Television. Two hours ago, it seems that information came from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet that a special subdivision of the KGB is approaching the Russian Supreme Soviet. Is that the case or not? Do you have any information on this?

[Ignatenko] No, we do not have such information.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

[Unidentified correspondent] Excuse me, but what was it that prompted the timing of the state coup?

[Volskiy] The timing?

[Correspondent] Yes, why did it happen 24 hours before the signing of the Union treaty?

[Volskiy] On this, I can only hazard a guess. In the first place, there is the signing of the Union treaty. I think that that is a direct factor. Second, there is the president's absence from Moscow, which is also a direct factor. I think that in my first statement I said that the situation in the country really is difficult. And the standard of living is also fertile soil for such actions in this kind of case. The standard of living is falling, there are interethnic conflicts, and there is a lot else. On the whole, people demand order. It is another issue that this order must be laid down by forces that are elected by the people by constitutional means, and in a civilized country this sort of order should not be established using tanks. This is what the point is. This means that order is necessary, but it is necessary to have it by constitutional means, by means that would be normal for any country. Bill Keller has had his hand up for a long time.

[Keller] My first question, in your view, do you think that we can consider the coup to be over, or do you still see dangers? And the second question: Boris Nikolayevich has today proposed that the National Committee [as heard] should be arrested and put on trial. How do you react to this?

[Voices in hall] Speak louder, we cannot hear you here.

[Volskiy] The question that was posed is that Boris Nikolayevich today stated that the members of the committee should be arrested. How do you react to this? The second question: Bill Keller from the NEW YORK TIMES asked whether I think that the coup is over.

I would like to warn you, my dear comrades that I and my dear comrades—those who are sitting here and those who have flown south do not consider that the danger is behind us, therefore we unanimously give a negative response to this question. As regards the view of Boris Nikolayevich, he is the president. First, those issues that are today being resolved by the session of the Russian Federation and on the 26th by the Union session of the Supreme Soviet need to be resolved constitutionally. If I can speak—oh, Comrade Vladislavlev has arrived—if we were to speak about our view, then we consider that the article in the law or the decree about introducing a state of emergency will not receive the support of the majority at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

[Unidentified correspondent] A question to [word indistinct].

[Volskiy] Wait just one moment, I would like to let Vladislavlev speak.

[Vladislavlev] I can only tell you the following, that is, Arkadiy Ivanovich invited me to reply to questions about the reaction of Lukyanov to the events that have been taking place. I did not take part in that conversation myself, but on my initiative, a group of deputies representing the economy, manufacturing, and so on worked very actively. And yesterday, there was a meeting—I myself was in the White House—between the 15 deputies and Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov. Anatoliy Ivanovich, after maneuvering for a long time on the subject of events connected with this matter, and constantly, so to speak, dissasociating himself from all this business, said that on the whole, the position of Mikhail Sergeyevich was very difficult because, for example, there was the following incident. He fixed a date for the Federation Council on the 21st and in accordance with the Union treaty, the all-Union bodies are to cease to exist after the 20th.

No, wait. All I ask is that I finish what I am saying and then you can make your comments. So, Lukyanov explained to the deputies and he stated the following,

that Mikhail Sergeyevich's position on this question was very complex and contradictory. In particular, Lukyanov says, a session of the Soviet of the Federation had been arranged for the 21st, but in connection with the fact that, in accordance with the Union treaty, Lukyanov says, the Union bodies are being eliminated. This statement gave rise to very serious contradictions, and Yeltsin in particular made a profound protest at what is happening in the country, and, you understand, this circumstance, of course, could not be proof of the fact that the country is in chaos. This is what was stated yesterday by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov at the meeting of deputies. But I would like to tell you—and I am sure that this will not be without interest—about one event that I, as a person and a citizen who all these past two days, have tried to do something to the best of my ability, our first meeting with Bill [referring to journalist at back of the room]—where's Bill? [voice: Bill is here]. Our first meeting with Bill and the first conversation on this subject took place on the 19th at 1100 in the morning. This was a meeting with Yeltsin. It took place yesterday at five o'clock. The leaders of the Movement for Democratic Reform went to see Yeltsin with a request for him to immediately take command of the armed forces. Because in the morning a situation had developed when the troops outside the White House, and, in particular, General Lebedev, who was commanding these troops, had said to Yeltsin: Boris Nikolayevich, people are taking me aside and asking: If they shoot me, that is not so terrible, but if they shoot my men because of me, I will bear this terrible cross, so to speak, for the rest of my life. And Yeltsin said to him: You have the right to leave. And so, the White House remained absolutely defenseless with the exception of those people who were inside.

The situation developed in such a way that, indeed, the absence of the commander in chief, and also the participation of the vice president and the commander of the armed...[corrects himself] the minister of defense was unlawful, the Army had in fact lost its leadership. That is why we demanded of Yeltsin—well, I cannot say demanded—we asked very persistently that he immediately assume command of the armed forces. To which Yeltsin, who in our presence Colonel General Konstantin Ivanovich—please forgive me, I have forgotten his name for the moment—said quite correctly: Boris Nikolayevich, we cannot carry on speaking any more, we have three hours left. The troops are coming, and so on. Yeltsin told him: we are finishing now. Comrades, I cannot allow myself to do this. I am afraid of causing a split in the Army. I am afraid that our Army will start shooting at one another.

It seems to me that such words could only be said by a person who is profoundly responsible for the destiny of the people and for the destiny of Soviet people. I was astounded by this. After that the conversation continued. Yeltsin immediately, in our presence, gave all his presidential advice, and within 40 minutes this statement, this decree of the president appeared, and everyone knew about it. That is what I would like to tell you about such a—one of Yeltsin's civil deeds. Thank you.

Bessmertnykh Holds Press Conference

LD2108223691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Prominent Soviet politicians Arkadiy Volskiy, Yevgeniy Primakov, and Vadim Bakatin held a news conference in Moscow on Wednesday. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh has held a news conference in Moscow. In his brief word of introduction he said the following:

[Begin Bessmertnykh recording in Russian, fading into English report] I want to make it absolutely clear, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh said, that as the Foreign Minister appointed and approved by the Soviet national parliament, I will carry on the policy of new thinking which meets best the national interests of the Soviet Union. We'll do our utmost to save the new atmosphere in the world created at the price of such great joint efforts. Aleksandr Bessmertnykh went on to say that the Soviet Union will stand by all its agreements and treaties. It proceeds from the assumption that other countries will also stand by their commitments to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet policy, he stressed, is aimed at peace and [?a] mutual understanding.

On the latest developments in the country Aleksandr Bessmertnykh said that the introduction of the state of emergency contrary to the will of the legitimate head of state, Mikhail Gorbachev can arouse a wave of sanctions and other steps against the Soviet Union. In this context the minister urged the governments of all countries not to create additional difficulties for the life and prosperity of Soviet people.

He went on to stress his confidence that the policy of reform and democratic development in the Soviet Union will remain unchanged, that all state structures, primarily Soviet Presidency, will be restored.

Asked about guarantees against the repetition of the tragic developments, the foreign minister said that the determination and public opinion of the entire Soviet nation can be such guarantees. After going through these difficult tragic days, he said we'll do everything for restoring law and order.

At the end of the news conference, the foreign minister said that during the latest developments, his ministry continued its work in the framework of the foreign policy course worked out by the constitutional bodies of the country, and in line with the policy of the national parliament and the president.

Interviewed by 'Vremya'

LD2108202191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The USSR foreign minister made a statement in which he reaffirmed that Soviet foreign policy is unchanged and that the USSR will remain loyal to the international agreements and accords previously achieved. Aleksandr Bessmertnykh noted that the USSR Foreign Ministry is guided in its work by the instructions of the constitutional bodies of the Soviet Union.

[Bessmertnykh] "I have confidence in the irrevocability of the reforms and the democratic development of the Soviet Union and in the restoration of all state structures, and above all, of the Union presidency."

[Announcer] The journalists in the hall were interested in many questions, including the activities of the Foreign Ministry during the past three days.

[Bessmertnykh] "In these days we have been concerned with not stopping our foreign-political work, because for us the one and only remaining guide is the national and state interest of the Soviet Union. The USSR Foreign Ministry has not received any direct instructions from the emergency committee and if they had been received then naturally they would have been examined in the context of what I have already said."

[Announcer] There were questions, too, about what Aleksandr Bessmertnykh himself has been doing these days.

[Bessmertnykh] "When these events took place I was on vacation far from Moscow, and when I arrived—when I was there I was already feeling rather unwell—when I arrived here I did indeed fall ill. I still have a high temperature and my doctor is sitting here. I was not detained and no measures were taken with regard to me and my absence from work was indeed due to these concrete circumstances connected with illness."

[Announcer] The journalists also asked many questions after the news conference, to which the USSR foreign minister gave, as far as possible, exhaustive answers.

[Bessmertnykh] "And I hope that (?if)..." [recording ends]

Telephones Baker

LD2108202891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1922 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 21 Aug (TASS)—A telephone conversation between Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker took place today. Resoluteness of both sides was confirmed to do everything possible so the latest events in the USSR would not cause any damage to the positive capital that has been built up in Soviet-American relations owing to joint efforts. Further constructive development of these relations answers the interests of the peoples of both countries and the upholding of stability in the world.

Shcherbakov Gives News Conference

LD2108222591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1929 GMT 21 Aug 91

[News conference with USSR Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov by unidentified reporters in Moscow on 21 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Shcherbakov] Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades: Two hours ago or a little longer, perhaps two and a half, the presidium of the USSR Cabinet of ministers, at which a statement was adopted, came to a close. I have been authorized to bring it to your attention. The essence of the statement is as follows: Having discussed all aspects of the political situation that has taken shape in the country, and noting that it has sharply deteriorated, the presidium of the Cabinet of Ministers states:

First, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has always in all its activities been guided, is guided, and will be guided exclusively by the USSR Constitution and the laws of the USSR and will fulfill the decisions of bodies constituted by procedures established in law. It is fully carrying out orders and instructions from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the USSR President, and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Second, in the situation that has taken shape, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers sees its main task as being to guarantee legality in all spheres of society's life and the preservation of the constitutional rights, freedoms, and interests of its citizens. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers, as one of the most important constitutional bodies of the state authority and government of the USSR, being responsible before the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, considers it to be its duty to consistently carry out the duties entrusted to it in accordance with the law laying down its area of authority and in strict observance of the Constitution and the laws of the USSR.

In the new and more acute economic and socio-political situation, the presidium of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers considers it necessary to direct the efforts of the bodies of authority and of all the people first and foremost toward resolving the issues of stabilizing the economy, not permitting a further fall in production, improving the provision of foodstuffs, delivering medicines, and also the reliable and constant provision of fuel and electricity for the national economy and the population.

In its activities, which are being carried out within the framework of the strategic course of continuing economic reform, developing democratic processes, and overcoming destabilizing phenomena in the USSR's

economic life, the presidium of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers is counting on cooperating with the governments of the republics, local bodies, and labor collectives.

In connection with this, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers requests that the labor collectives and the country's citizens, representatives of various parties and tendencies, and all bodies of power and authority in the localities do not demonstrate any political extremism and take all measures to stabilize the situation, taking as a starting point the fact that political questions should be resolved within the framework of constitutional norms and according to the established legislative order.

The main assessment of the events that are taking place must be made by the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet that will open on 26 August of this year.

Fourth [as heard], the USSR Cabinet of Ministers appeals to the heads of all states and governments and to international economic organizations not to take any practical steps, at this time of difficulty for us, to stop economic relations with the USSR, bearing in mind that in the next few days, and possibly hours, constitutional order will be restored in our country. At the same time, an extremely difficult situation has developed in the USSR regarding the supply to the population of food, medicines, raw and other materials for the work of industry, transport and communications, and the work of all the toilers of the USSR. In this situation, action to restrict deliveries to the USSR, above all of food and medical supplies, would cause the country hardship and could cause a deepening of the crisis, and in the long term it is not impossible that the process of reform could get out of control.

Fourth [as heard], the Cabinet of Ministers declares with a full sense of responsibility that in the existing situation it will continue to carry out its duties until the constitutional structures, above all USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and the USSR Supreme Soviet, take other decisions on the continuation of its activities. The full presidium of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has signed this statement.

As a point of information, I should like to tell you that by decision of the Ministry of Defense, troops are being withdrawn from Moscow and the pull-out of troops should be completed overnight.

Roughly 20 minutes ago I had a telephone call from USSR President Gorbachev. He confirmed that he is in a normal state and is fit to work. He called on the USSR Cabinet of Ministers to continue performing its duties, dealing above all with economic matters and the restoration of law and order in the country. He asked me to inform you that all measures are being taken on his part to insure the restoration of the constitutional order in the next few days or perhaps even hours.

There I should like to end my statement. If you have any questions, I shall try to answer them.

[Reporter] I represent the Hungarian paper BUDAPEST NEWS, and I should like to know what is the fate of Mr. Pavlov.

[Shcherbakov] Comrade Pavlov is today ill. He really is ill; this is no diplomatic illness. I was in touch with him yesterday evening and today by telephone. He is now being treated by doctors, and as yet it has regrettably not proved possible to bring him out of his severe hypertension crisis. This hypertension crisis began to develop in him on the night of the 18-19 August. In the morning it became much more acute. By various methods the doctors managed to, so to speak, bring him to a condition such that he was able to leave his bed.

We held an expanded meeting of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, at which we dealt—and I want to underline this—exclusively with economic matters. In this connection, I should say that the news reports published in the newspapers to the effect that we examined questions regarding the support for the State Committee for the State of Emergency and things of that sort were distorted through the actions of technical personnel. Nobody in the leadership of the Cabinet of Ministers sanctioned such a report. I have with me here a resolution that we adopted that day. On the 19th, following the Cabinet meeting, Pavlov's condition, the state of his illness, deteriorated sharply. Today he is strictly confined to bed. We are in touch with him by telephone from time to time, when the doctors allow it.

I realize that your question is really asking whether Pavlov has been removed from office, whether he has been replaced in the same way as Gorbachev, and so on. The fact is that it is not like that at all. Comrade Doguzhiyev is acting in his place because Comrade Pavlov really is seriously ill. From my conversations with him, when he was, as it were, in a condition to talk and give a proper view of the situation, I realized that he had been misled by untrue information about the state of health of the USSR president. It was for this reason, for this reason, that he signed that statement. Secondly, in that situation he had no possibility of not subordinating himself to a vice-president constitutionally performing his duties. That was how the situation was. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Lithuanian Telegraph Agency. These last few days have shown that the Soviet Government must be the most unique government in the world. First, it betrayed its president. Second, it turns out that the government has no information about what was happening inside the country. Does not the Cabinet of Ministers intend to resign after such a—I do not know any other word for it—shameful episode?

[Shcherbakov] We believe that the actions of the Cabinet of Ministers will be assessed by the Supreme Soviet after it has comprehensively reflected on the matter, and we shall present our explanations. The Supreme Soviet will make a decision on this. We do not intend to resign at this point, because the situation is such that if we resign

the chaos in the economy will produce such a jolt that the entire situation could become irreversible. From our point of view, and we have discussed this possibility, a public resignation at this juncture would be a betrayal of the population.

[Reporter] NEWSWEEK. Did you try to call Gorbachev on Monday or Tuesday or today? Were you surprised that communications with him were cut off? Did you suspect in those circumstances that his health could have been alright and that a coup was under way? And since Mr. Gorbachev called you, do you think you will be the next prime minister of the Soviet Union?

[Shcherbakov] I was in contact with President Gorbachev on Saturday evening around 1900, and on Sunday at about two or three in the afternoon. First Deputy Prime Minister Velichko was in contact with him. We discussed routine business matters. He told me that immediately after flying back on the 19th he would invite me to discuss proposals I had submitted for consideration by the Soviet of the Federation on the 21st. There was no mention of any state of emergency and he did not express any fears. Following that, as I learned today, at about 1700 in the afternoon, contact with him was completely cut off. We attempted to contact him on Monday and Tuesday, but as you well know, links are easily interrupted. We kept getting the same reply: We could not get through to Faros, and the president was seriously ill.

As far as your second question is concerned about whether we suspected a coup was under way, there can be all sorts of suspicions. Having discussed the situation, however, we based our actions on the following: every member of the Cabinet can have his own civic position, but enormous state duties are placed on us. We do not have the right to disregard our state duties owing to our political views or ambitions.

As regards the next prime minister, I hope it will not be me. [passage omitted]

Anti-Coupist Cabinet Members Lauded

OW2108203091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The co-chairman of the scientific-industrial group of people's deputies of the USSR Aleksandr Vladislavlev has said that three members of the Pavlov Cabinet gave the cold shoulder to actions by the Emergency Committee on the day of the coup. The three were Vladimir Shcherbakov, Nikolay Vorontsov and Nikolay Gubenko.

All other members of the Cabinet supported the state of emergency and other decisions by the Emergency Committee.

On behalf of the scientific-industrial group of USSR people's deputies Vladislavlev suggested that parliament should vote on confidence in the Pavlov cabinet and on forming a government of popular trust.

Shevardnadze Said 'Unwell,' 'Pale'

OW2108022691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0055 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From "Express Edition No. 5"; item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Shevardnadze who is among the demonstrators defending the parliament said in a short interview with INTERFAX [IF]: "This is a great event. Nothing is greater than a people fighting for its own independence, own democracy."

According to the IF correspondent, Shevardnadze feels unwell and walks with palpable effort, but regardless, pale. Shevardnadze began a round of the Russian parliament in the company of well-known journalist Eduard Sagalayev.

Yakovlev Assails 'Cowardly' CPSU

LD2108230191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Interview with Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev by unidentified reporter; place and date not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Interviewer] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, to return to the events of the last three days, what is your opinion of the actions of the Communist Party?

[Yakovlev] I can speak only about the party leadership. They behaved in a cowardly manner. Today I cannot help but ask myself where the party is that used to swear to all the people at every opportunity that it alone was the defender of the interests of the people? A violent coup is carried out in the country, but the party remains silent. The legitimate president and general secretary of that party is removed from power, but the CPSU leadership remains silent. The people are told blatant lies on radio and television, but the party remains silent. And the most terrible thing: The blood of innocent people is shed, people who believed in their hearts that times of legality, democracy, and freedom were beginning, but again the CPSU remains silent. All the participants in the junta are CPSU members. Therefore, it is amoral for honest party members to belong to an organization that did not speak out against the coup d'etat.

Central Committee Secretariat Issues Statement

LD2208003491 PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

["CPSU Central Committee Secretariat Statement"]

[Text] "In the critical moment of the history of the state, the secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee considers it necessary to inform communists and all citizens of our state of its stand.

"It is another time that the leading bodies of the Soviet Communist Party face grave facts and the need to give their estimation of political events that have already happened.

"The process of comprehensive renewal of Soviet society, that was begun by the Soviet Communist Party in April 1985 on the initiative of the party's General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, is historically necessary and responds to the highest interests of the Soviet people.

"The secretariat confirms its adherence to the course towards the democratic renewal of Soviet society—our multi-national federation—principles and aims outlined in the documents of the 28th Party Congress and in the new draft program of the CPSU.

"Over the recent years a beginning was laid to important positive changes in public life, prerequisites for overcoming the heritage of the totalitarian past were created. However, the scale of the problems, mistakes made during their solution led to a deep crisis of the society and the state.

"Nevertheless, we think that the crisis should be overcome only in a constitutional way.

"The secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee considers it inadmissible to use temporary extraordinary powers to establish an authoritarian regime, create anti-constitutional power bodies and make attempts to use force.

"We call for an immediate consideration of the current situation by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and, if needed, by a congress of people's deputies.

"We call for an immediate convocation of a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee with the obligatory participation of the party's Secretary General Gorbachev.

"The secretariat of the Central Committee calls on Communists to do their utmost to facilitate the preservation of civil peace, the maintenance of legal order in the country and the creation of conditions in which soviet citizens could with full responsibility decide themselves upon their attitude towards the key problems of the society development.

"We call on all citizens to show restraint and calm and do not allow any interruptions in the labour rhythm. A special attention is needed to finish the harvesting and prepare for winter.

"Everything should be done to remove the threat of electric power and food crisis.

"We hope that goodwill and labour of Soviet people will provide for the development of the country along the path of peace, concord and construction.

"Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee."

Komsomol Rejects Coup Rationale

PM2108172391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

["Statement of the Leadership of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League Central Committee"]

[Text] The course of in-depth reforms associated with the name of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has been called into question and put in the most grave danger. The All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League has supported the reformist policy of the country's president throughout recent time.

In this regard we state the following:

1) Deeming unconvincing the explanation of the reasons for the removal of the country's president from his duties furnished by the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR, we consider it essential that the country's president, M.S. Gorbachev, address the people.

2) We consider that there are no grounds for recognizing the constitutionality of the decisions made in the name of the "Soviet leadership" or their conformity with the letter of the USSR Law "On the Legal Regime Governing a State of Emergency." Any actions connected with the lawfully elected president of the country should be decided solely by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the peoples of the USSR on the basis of the Constitution. Supporting only the lawfully elected organs of power, we demand the immediate convening of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

3) We appeal to the leaders of republics, krays, and oblasts, to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and to all political parties and movements: Take all measures to ensure a political settlement of the crisis which has arisen in the country and exclude the use of force.

4) We appeal to young people and our comrades in the League not to yield to provocations or allow themselves to be turned into a tool for the realization of political ambitions.

Special words of ours go out to military servicemen, the bulk of whom are young men. We believe that in no circumstances will you besmirch your honor and conscience with the blood of your compatriots.

Given the suspension of the publication of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, we call upon all the mass media to publish this statement.

1200 hours, 20 August 1991, Moscow.

Commentaries View Coup Attempt, Aftermath

PRAVDA Condemns Violence

PM2108183991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

["To PRAVDA Readers"]

[Text] During these alarming days, when our country is going through one of the most critical periods in its history, the PRAVDA editorial office seeks to provide objective coverage of the events taking place, supporting in every way the course of renewal launched in April 1985.

Unfortunately, thus far the party and Communists do not have a clearly expressed position on the part of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo regarding the events in the country. We do not know what is happening with CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev.

We consider that all problems should be tackled on the basis of the law and of right and be in keeping with the constitutional norms. We resolutely condemn violence, from whichever side it may come.

We urge communists and all our compatriots to exhibit composure, calm, and civic restraint. Let us remember that no ambitions or claims to power, by whatever goals they are justified, are worth a single drop of human blood.

[Signed] The PRAVDA Editorial Collegium.

People Said 'Tired of Politics'

PM2108215891 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[Article by political observer Viktor Shirokov under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Stop and Look Back"]

[Text] The weather in Moscow is overcast... As for the political weather, it is marked countrywide by storm clouds, lightning, and leaden cloud fronts. There is unease in people's minds and anguish in despairing hearts. We are going through grim days, days charged with anger and and confusion...

I traveled by subway. At first glance, everything seemed the same as usual— people hurrying to work, people heading for the stores. Perhaps only people had a more self-preoccupied, reserved, sullen look. And there were also small groups of people stopping to read the decrees of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president which had been xeroxed and posted on the walls. True, many people also walked past. It is a characteristic feature of our times that people are tired of politics and are increasingly taken over by indifference and complacency...

What a bitter and sad feature of our present-day reality and what revealing evidence that people have lost faith in their own involvement in making the most important political decisions for the country. There fates are decided elsewhere, in the empyrean heights of power, while they themselves are simply faced with the fait accompli.

I thought to myself: What inordinate responsibility is taken by those who make those, sometimes most unexpected, decisions. And, most importantly, embroil the people in confrontation that carries the threat of great bloodshed....

The situation which has arisen by the walls of the Russian "White House" on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment strikingly reminded me of the Vilnius events in January 1991. But the Vilnius tragedy seems to have taught us nothing. Again, blood is spilt—this time on the soil of Moscow. And again battling politicians are blithely ready to heap all the blame on the Army. But why? I saw those soldiers who patiently and stoically stood drenched in the rain with the sole aim of restraining people from fratricidal fights, safeguarding order, and ensuring the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

I feel most sorry for those boys, our sons who are forced to form a human barrier between antagonistic sides.

I also feel sorry for the party and for rank-and-file communists who, with cold and malevolent calculation, are made the target of—for the moment—verbal fusillades and who are accused of hatching a "communist plot." This is a far-reaching plan. Its goal is to see off the Communist Party and those who remain loyal to the ideals of social justice and the interests of ordinary working people and to remove from the political arena perhaps the sole force which staunchly maintains socialist guidelines.

There is still time to ponder, to stop, and to look back: What, then, are we creating?! There is still time to assess the situation coolly, to check our impetuousness and the wave of hatred, and to heed the words of our authorized representatives in the Supreme Soviets of the country, Russia, and the other republics. Let them judge. Let right, the law, and the Constitution prevail.

PRAVDA on 'High Price' of Crisis

PM2208092091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Anatoliy Karpychev under the "Opinion a Propos" rubric: "The 'Soviet Crisis'"]

[Text] "An unexpected, frightening event..." "A sudden, foolhardy turn of events..." "I am stunned, saddened, alarmed." "The world is seriously worried about Gorbachev's overthrow." I could go on quoting foreign newspaper headlines and the opinions of world political figures on events in our country, which have already become known as the "Soviet crisis," and the majority of them begin with the words: We were not expecting it.

They were not expecting it.

Nor were we.

Seemingly nothing at the end of last week foreshadowed such a tragic turn of events, leading to bloodshed on Tuesday night. The whole world saw on television what was happening in Moscow. The pictures on America's CNN television generated fear and horror. "Stop! Boys, stop," I hear the voices say. And shots...

But we were in total ignorance.

We were in ignorance when on Monday the USSR president, who was lawfully elected to that high post, suddenly disappeared from the political horizon. Now, as I write these lines, the truth has become known. The president is returning to the execution of his duties. But on Monday morning, alas, we did not and could not know that.

When I set off for work in the morning, I did not know that combat vehicles were on their way to Moscow. People were calling the editorial office: Where is President M.S. Gorbachev? Is he in good health? How is he? The whole world wanted to know. Not out of idle curiosity. In order to understand the situation and assess the events that have become known as the "Soviet crisis." Meetings with him were sought by the Russian leadership, by B.N. Yeltsin. Meetings with Gorbachev, who is general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, were sought, as we see from today's news, by his party deputy V.A. Ivashko. PRAVDA staffers were calling every telephone number known to us in the hope of obtaining information from the president's apparatus. Unsuccessful attempts to call Gorbachev were made by F. Mitterrand, G. Bush...

During those hours we at the editorial office were reasoning: Suppose the president is seriously ill. He has worked hard, not sparing himself. Anything can happen, even leaders can fall seriously ill, and they can be surrounded by a strict hospital regime, not a security guard. Remember, N.I. Ryzhkov was ill not so long ago. But on that occasion, Nikolay Ivanovich's wife reported to the press on his state of health. Gorbachev, if you remember, inquired after N.I. Ryzhkov's health, and the press reported that fact too. The press also immediately reported V.S. Pavlov's illness, informing us of his high blood pressure. But the president's health... Surely this was not a matter of indifference to some of his "friends"?

We must be honest with ourselves. Now more than ever before we need good sense and the ability to understand each other. I say this because anything that is contrary to common sense and honesty, anything that is dictated by the power struggle and malicious feelings and arrogance, can result in bloody carnage. Unfortunately, this too was demonstrated by the events of recent days. The responsibility rests not with some abstraction, but with real people, whether they are at the helm of state or in the street. We have no right to allow a repetition of what once happened in Tbilisi, Vilnius, and other regions that we all know.

The price of the "Soviet crisis" is very high. A chilling drama has come knocking at our door, it is on the threshold, and unless we stop it, it will be terrible.

Heaven knows, I am not trying to frighten anyone. Everyone is frightened enough as it is. People are depressed. This morning I heard someone say: "I don't want to go on living..." That too is the price of the "unexpected events."

It is not easy to live through a crisis. But we must. Its consequences will be hard to heal. But in order to choose the right "medicine" we need information from the USSR president on how he himself sees the "Soviet crisis" and how he assesses the events of recent days.

IZVESTIYA Fears Civil War

PM2108154191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed introduction to feature comprising roundup of reports on situation in the USSR: "The Reaction Did Not Get Through!"]

[Text] This is the third day of shock, fear, and uncertainty being experienced by the country. Hitherto IZVESTIYA—which, as it is well known, did not end up on the "black list" of banned publications—limited itself to the publication of official announcements and reports on current events. We assumed that, in the prevailing situation, it is important to give people at least a tiny quantity of undistorted news.

But today, introducing the publication of news reports from Moscow, Leningrad, and other regions in the Union, we IZVESTIYA staffers deem it our duty to declare our own attitude toward events. As times passes, it becomes increasingly obvious that the removal of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev from power and the introduction of the state of emergency, no matter what aspirations may have prompted them, not only failed to save the country from the grimmest of crises but, on the contrary, aggravated the crisis; not only failed to avert the danger of a civil war but—and this is the terrifying aspect—may bring it closer.

Read attentively the articles and reports by our correspondents, the statements by public organizations and statesmen, the reports from abroad on the way the latest events in the USSR are assessed there, and finally the documents of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, and we hope you will perceive the main point: Emergency measures, violence, and antidemocratic measures cannot bring the peace, calm, and accord which our long-suffering country so badly needs today.

Yes, we have found ourselves in a really grave situation, the economy seems to be poised on the brink. Yes, measures aimed at stabilizing the situation are needed. But they must be based on the law and nothing but the law. Yet attempts are being made to drive us by force

along the path leading to the abyss. But there is an even greater force—the common sense and unity of the people who today, perhaps for the first time in more than 70 years, are really beginning to realize: We are not slaves!

Therein lies our hope. And salvation.

TASS Analyzes Lessons

LD2108212991 Moscow TASS in English 2103 GMT 21 Aug 91

[By TASS political observer Sergey Kolesnikov]

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—It seems that time for a comprehensive estimation of the recent developments has not come yet, since the events go on.

However, the analysis of the latest reports enables a conclusion that the attempt of unconstitutional removal of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the introduction of a state of emergency has failed, although the threat of dramatic development of events has not gone and there are no grounds for euphoria.

Many questions still wait for their answers, primarily the one who is to blame for what has happened. But if one thinks of the reasons for such a sharp turn in the history of perestroyka, the picture is quite clear.

Most complicated problems, the society faced when overcoming a prolonged crisis, still remain. The problems include a grave "situation in the economy, living through a period of" transition to market relations, interethnic discord, polysemous processes in political and social spheres and a high level of social tension.

The solution of these problems on the way of democratic development, on the basis of political centrism, to which President Gorbachev is adherent, is the only possibility to overcome the crisis.

Unfortunately, ultra-radicals of both right and left wings could not and, to my mind, cannot even now understand this. Both opposing sides, each of which roused the other's ambitions, forced the situation. As a result, "a critical mass" appeared at one of the poles and an explosion came.

That is the general scheme of events that preceded the attempt to remove the Soviet president from power. A vivid illustration to this became the attitude of the right and left wings to the Union treaty, which was to come into force on August 20.

The date of unconstitutional actions was not accidental.

The treaty would considerably strengthen the new political reality, the still fragile concord in society and create a basis for progress and the expansion of economic and political space of the Union.

But this would mean a farewell to out-dated illusions of unitarianism. The events of August 19 became an attempt to save the passing power system with the help of military force. However, it's not excluded that the authors and makers of the coup proceeded from, as they thought, good intentions to overcome the crisis.

Why did the attempt to change the character of the country's development fail?

Certainly, a great role in this was played by the decisive stand of people's deputies of the USSR and Union republics, active measures of the Russian leadership and the support of thousands of people, who stood up to defend democratic achievements.

An important factor is that the very society has changed a lot over the perestroyka years. These quality changes do not allow seeds of extremes to grow, and raise barriers in the way of the use of force by those who want to turn the history backward.

Certainly, there is no and cannot be guarantees that some unexpectedness are not waiting for us on the way to renovation. However, the recent events give grounds to optimism.

What should be done in the nearest future?

First of all, constitutional functions of the lawful head of the state—President Mikhail Gorbachev—should be restored on a full scale. The rights of the supreme commander of the Soviet Armed Forces should belong to him and him only.

It is Gorbachev and nobody else who should enjoy all the power within the authority granted to him by the Soviet Constitution.

Another important thing, to my mind, is that during the "rehabilitation" period and the exit from the stress regime of the state of emergency, we cannot allow emotions to overwhelm and extremism of one to be replaced by a "mirror" ultra-radicalism of the other wing.

Lessons of the August crisis should serve as a severe warning.

A special theme is the stand of the West.

The world community was practically unanimous in its negative attitude to the introduction of the state of emergency. Specific measures have been taken to curb the business cooperation that just began to develop.

However, one cannot help thinking if those who were slow to help Gorbachev in carrying out the reforms also have grounds to take upon themselves at least a part of the guilt for the recent developments.

Did not some measures on "supplementary arming" taken in the West feed conservative forces' speculations and their pressure on the Soviet president?

It seems that the best way to overcome the crisis will be an activisation of not only moral but also, based on mutual benefit, material support to democratic reforms

in the Soviet Union on behalf of the West and a coordinated movement towards the lowering of armaments level.

The lessons of the three August days should became a subject of a serious analysis and a basis for practical conclusions in this sphere as well.

TASS Cites Republics' Reactions to Events

LD2108211391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 21 Aug 91

["The Situation in the Soviet Union—reaction in Republics. (Includes statements by the Ukrainian Parliament, Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee, and independent Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee)"—TASS headline]

[Text] Kiev, 21 Aug (TASS)—The issue of the political situation that had taken shape in connection with the establishing of the USSR State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] and the introduction of a state of emergency in individual localities of the Union Soviet Socialist Republics [SSR] was examined at a meeting of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium. The adopted statement says, inter alia, that until a decision on these issues by an extraordinary session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet is adopted the SCSE decisions have no legal force on Ukrainian territory. The state of emergency has not been introduced in the republic and there are no grounds for that. The USSR Constitution and the Ukrainian SSR Constitution are in force in the Ukraine. The Presidium stated that it would defend consistently the Ukraine's state sovereignty, human rights, and the democratic achievements started in 1985.

Minsk

The Bureau of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee has adopted an appeal to the Communists and all the working people of the republic, which notes the forced nature of the measures for introducing order in the country undertaken by the USSR SCSE. At the same time it believes that these measures should not contradict the USSR Constitution and other Soviet laws, and should not be implemented against the interests of working people. The Bureau of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committe calls upon party committees and organizations to conduct explanatory work among the population "to forestall a negative development of events, and to assist the bodies of state power and administration in strict observance of Soviet laws."

Tallinn

The Bureau of the Independent Estonian Communist Party Central Comittee regards "the removal from power of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev as illegal," the statement of this party says; it was circulated by local media today. Members of the Bureau of the Independent Estonian Communist Party also appeals to all the residents of Estonia to maintain "calm, dignity, and unity."

The SCSE's actions did not have an unequivocal response in Estonia. Thus, the Republican Council of Strike Committees of Enterprises of the Estonian SSR, which mainly is made up of the labor collectives of works in union subordination, sent a message of support to the SCSE, while the other one, called the Estonian Republican Committee for general political strike, called for stopping work in protest against the events taking place in the Soviet Union.

Kishinev

The situation in Moldova's capital is calm, on the whole, and is fully under control. Konstantin Obrok, First Deputy Prime Minister of Moldova, announced this on republican radio today. The buildings of Parliament, government, television, telegraph, bank, Press House, and also the house of Mircha Snegur, the Moldovan president, have been given special protection. Approaches to them have been blocked by machinery. At the president's call, some 4,500 volunteers, who have arrived from many areas of the republic, are guarding these buildings. [TASS in English 1804 GMT 21 Aug adds:

Yerevan

The Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, rejecting the competence of the emergency committee, called for an urgent convocation of the Soviet Federation Council for a joint search for ways out of the current situation. [A statement of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium, circulated here today, noted that the only way towards the stabilisation of the current situation is not violence but a consistent expansion and deepening of democracy.

Kishinev

A statement adopted today by the Moldavian parliament stressed that no motives can serve as an excuse for the recent events.

The Moldavian parliament described "the coup as a serious state crime directed against the sovereignty of republics."

Dushanbe

Tajikistan still considers important for both Soviet people and the international community the preservation of the Union and the soonest signing of the Union treaty, Tajik President Kakhar Makhkamov said today speaking over the republican TV.

He called on all Tajik residents to consolidate labour discipline in all sections of the economy, keep calm and decisively stop actions provoking the violation of law and legal order.]

TASS Reviews 21 Aug Soviet Central Press

LD2108170791 Moscow TASS in English 0850 GMT 21 Aug 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—All the national newspapers today lead with the text of Resolution No. 3 of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR which established a new regime for television and radio broadcasting for the duration of the state of emergency in some places in the USSR.

The press carries the acting president's decree on the Russian president's decrees Nos. 59, 61, 62 and 63 of August 19, 1991, which are proclaimed null and void.

The newspapers also carry the statement of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR proclaiming null and void the order by the deputy interior minister of the Russian Federation, summoning to Moscow armed cadets from military schools subordinate to the Russian Federation's Interior Ministry.

The statement stresses that the leaders of internal affairs departments who fail to comply with the order of the Soviet Interior Minister will face grave consequences and responsibility.

All national papers today publish the first decrees, resolutions and statements by the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR. These include the emergency committee's statement analyzing the situation in the country and reaction in other countries to the introduction of the state of emergency in the USSR.

The newspapers carry on their front pages Gennadiy Yanayev's decree the functions of the supreme body of state authority. The statement draws attention to the fact that under the Soviet Constitution, a state of emergency can be decreed only by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Reviews 22 Aug Press

LD2208100391 Moscow TASS in English 0937 GMT 22 Aug 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Newspapers highlight today the failure of the attempted coup in the USSR. The press sets forth President Gorbachev's radio and TV address, in which he stressed that he was fully in control of the situation. Communication with the country, disrupted as a result of reckless actions of the group of statesmen, has been restored. The president had telephone conversations with Yeltsin, Nazarbayev, Kravchuk, Dementey and Karimov. They unanimously denounced the coup attempt, disrupted as a result of resolute actions of the country's democratic forces. During a telephone conversation with U.S. President Bush on Wednesday night Gorbachev stressed that society and the peoples of the country had rejected the venture. Qualitatively new processes emerged in the course of democratic transformations will be continued in the USSR, he said.

Newspapers report a session of "the Presidium of the Soviet parliament. It adopted a resolution which described as illegal the actual ousting of President Gorbachev from the discharge of his constitutional duties and their transfer to the vice president. It submitted for the approval of the extraordinary session of the Soviet parliament the proposal on setting up an investigation commission for analysing the problem of calling to account the senior executives who are guilty of violating the Soviet Constitution.

Newspapers report the decision of the collegium of the Soviet Defence Ministry to withdraw military units from the state of emergency areas to places of their permanent dislocation. They carry a report of the Moscow commander on lifting the curfew. "The military return to garrisons," PRAVDA writes, commenting on the meeting of a Soviet Defence Ministry spokesman with journalists.

PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, TRUD and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA give wide coverage to the extraordinary session of the Russian parliament. The newspapers stress the resolute stand asumed by the Russian legislators and President Boris Yeltsin, which made an impact on the development of the situation.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's extraordinary issue, entitled "Putsch in USSR," carries the chronicle of tragic events of the past three days, as well as photo copies of documents, signed by Pugo, Kryuchkov, Baklanov, Yazov and Yanayev. "The very fact they personally signed the documents to try to prove some lawful character of the coup, is sensational," KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes. The newspaper publishes the statement of Yeltsin, Silayev and Khasbulatov of August 19, which described the ousting of Gorbachev as a right-wing, reactionary and anti-constitutional coup.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and PRAVDA publish the statement of the Secretariat of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee which "regards as impermissible the use of temporary extraordinary powers for establishing an authoritarian regime, creating anti- constitutional bodies of power and trying to resort to force." The Central Committee Secretariat "went on record in favour of the immediate holding of a plenary meeting of the Central Committee, which should be attended by General Secretary Gorbachev by all means. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries a statement of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and PRAVDA—a statement of members of the Soviet Security Council Vadim Bakatin and Yevgeniy Primakov denouncing actions of the state of emergency committee, as well as a report about a press conference with the participation of secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee A. Dzasokhov. PRAVDA writes that the board of the USSR

Research and Industrial Union ousted A. Tizyakov from the post of vice president of the union and removed him from the board "for participation in anti-constitutional actions which included the creation of the so-called state of emergency committee and the actual imposing of the regime which caused the loss of life."

Newspapers report the lifting of restrictions on the press imposed on August 19.

A report of the USSR public prosecutor's office says the USSR prosecutor general has instituted criminal proceedings against members of the illegally created State of Emergency Committee following crimes against the state.

"As foreign minister appointed by President Gorbachev and approved by the Soviet parliament, I shall pursue a policy of new thinking, which meets the national interests of the Soviet Union and promotes its security in the best possible way," Aleksandr Bessmertnykh said at a press conference covered by newspapers.

"It is not with confrontation and tanks, but goodwill, reason and our own hard work that will pave the way to solving our problems," says a statement of the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions published by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA.

"We have a very high price to pay for the 'Soviet crisis'. A terrible tragedy has knocked at our door, it is on the threshold, and if we do not stop it, horrible developments will follow," Anatoliy Karpychev writes in PRAVDA. The paper's political observer, Viktor Shirokov, urges people "to stop and think," to dampen the "wave of hatred" and not let people start a fratricidal war.

"There must be no recurrence of this tragedy," SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA writes in connection with the tragic developments in Moscow and the loss of life. The newspaper carries a resolution of the Russian parliament on additional powers to be given to the Russian president to ensure the legality of work of the councils of people's deputies in conditions of eliminating consequences of the attempted coup in the USSR, as well as a report of the USSR Constitutional Compliance Committee on accepting for examination the problem of the compliance with the Soviet Constitution and laws of the takeover by the vice president as president of the USSR and actions taken by him, the imposing of the state of emergency and the creation of the State Emergency Committee.

TRUD carries an article by chairman of the All-Union Confederation of Labour V. Shcherbakov. He believes the main task of trade unions is to help the country overcome the economic crisis, to consolidate democratic transformations and save the union from disintegration. "The grim experience of the past three days should help us rally around those goals," he said in conclusion.

L. Smirnov, head of the coal industry sector of the Soviet Cabinet of Ministers, writes in TRUD about the situation at coal mines.

International sections of newspapers carry numerous foreign comments on the developments in the USSR denouncing the abortive coup, and information about the situation in Yugoslavia, the Middle East and European countries.

Correction to Answers Questions at News Conference

WA2208180491

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Answers Questions at News Conference," published in the 20 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 5: Column one, first full paragraph, last sentence make read: ...the housing problem. (New paragraph) For the last three... (deleting extraneous editorial notation).

Economic

Yasin on Current Crisis, Prospects

914A1082A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 91 p 2

[Interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences Yevgeniy Yasin, co-author of the "500 days" program, by A. Bekker; place and date not given: "Who Will Become the Architect of Our Economic Miracle?"]

[Text] One year ago, the authors of the "500 days" program filled the order for Gorbachev and Yeltsin, putting aside their pens after a month-long brainstorm. The developers, including Doctor of Economic Sciences **Yevgeniy Yasin,** believed that the program would be a turning point for our economy.

[Bekker] Yevgeniy Grigoryevich, soon thereafter you, together with a group of authoritative Western experts, offered a diagnosis in THE NEW YORK TIMES: The crisis is so deep that its classical denouement—financial stabilization first, and price liberalization later—is no longer suitable for us.

[Yasin] In August 1990, the flywheel of inflation had not been set in motion yet. The internal debt and the deficit of the state budget were somehow manageable. Ryzhkov raised grain prices, Silayev raised meat prices, and in October, Gorbachev's ukase on raising wholesale prices came... The government started up the generator of price increases, having done nothing to maintain financial equilibrium.

For us, the trouble is that there is no mechanism of stabilization either. Budgetary arbitrariness is the reason why: The center and the republics are pulling things off with money which we are ashamed to tell our Western colleagues about. The Russian budget for 1991 was sacrificed to populism—there are social programs which are impossible to fulfill, and billions are handed out to

agrarians. It was clear ahead of time that expenditures were clearly going to be higher, and that revenues would fall short. In turn, Pavlov's Union budget is a very poor trick, a panama hat covering a vacuum. Revenue items were compiled on the basis of the growth of national income at a time when a blind man could see a decline in industry and agricultural production. Reality fell by the wayside. In all of this, as minister of finance, Pavlov said straightforwardly before submitting the budget to the parliament that the deficit was going to be 200 billion rubles [R], and several days later, apparently having conferred with Ryzhkov, invented budget baloney: In the first draft, the Union accounted for R12 billion in the deficit, and the republics accounted for R46 billion. This was the result of fiddling with revenues and expenditures and shifting the budget deficit to the republics, which have no experience of making ends meet. So, they set out to outdo each other in love for the people, in who will "give" more. In short, it is a madhouse—I am at a loss for another word. Having proclaimed sovereignty, they failed to understand this basic truth: Given the unified monetary system of the country, it is impossible to outbid the center or one another—your aid to the populace will boomerang into the populace in the form of the depreciating ruble. We scratched our heads when we analyzed the Russian budget: Almost all items of expenditure were increased by a factor of two.

[Bekker] In general, a source was available. Russia withheld R80 billion from the Union budget. Gorbachev and Yeltsin had an argument in the lobby about them, Yeltsin sort of agreed to transfer something for the Army; however, to this day everything is in the dark. Most likely, Russia got the billions, and the center compensates for them with the help of the Goznak [Main Administration for the Manufacturing of State Bills, Coins, and Orders of the USSR Ministry of Finance] plant—by printing bills.

[Yasin] This episode put a dent in our finances. However, even later, the center and the republics continued to behave as if in the kitchen of a tenement: They could not agree on prices and compensations. As a result, the republics spent R45 billion on social programs after 2 April, and compensations turned out to exceed those planned. Miners, metallurgists, oil workers, air traffic controllers—all on whom the country depends—learned to squeeze out their salaries. They got what they were due, but what was the use of it? The money supply swelled, but there were no more goods than before. Incentives for labor declined altogether. This was what the deterioration of the ruble was about. We did not want to get cured; this was painful and unpleasant. It was better to get a shot of the drug.

[Bekker] On the eve of 1991, you warned that a budget deficit of R250 billion, to describe which you were at a loss for words, was in store for us. So, half a year later the deficit according to a number of projections will come to as much as R400 billion rather than "your" R250 billion.

[Yasin] I still stand by an estimated budget deficit of between R250 and R300 billion, i.e., between 12 and 15 percent of the gross national product.

[Bekker] In a healthy economy, this deficit would come to 2.5 or 3 percent.

[Yasin] This is a natural question: Why is the catastrophe not perceived? So far, we are sheltered by "great rationing": resident cards, coupons, goods distributed by waiting lists. However, there is no chance for salvation as long as we live in a distorted world. It is time to flood exchanges with 55 percent of the stock of goods rather than 0.5 percent, and to set prices free.

[Bekker] Pavlov says: We increased prices by a factor of 1.6, and you can see what a blow to the population this was. The people will not survive shock treatment at all.

[Yasin] Prices will have to be set free one way or another. He who does this will assume control of the money supply. I am convinced that had prices been set free much sooner...

[Bekker] Pardon me, but in September 1990 you were not that determined. Under the "500 day" program, you intended to freeze prices for the 150 most significant goods.

[Yasin] This was a tribute paid to both our reality and the demands of politicians—Gorbachev and Yeltsin did not want to look bad before the people. So, had we set prices free then, there would not have been a jump such as the one after 2 April. Ryzhkov intended to raise prices by R200 billion, Pavlov by R300 billion, and actually it turned out to be R420 billion. This is how it is in the economy: You overdo it, and then the spring of popular discontent pushes you back. For example, with a growth of R300 billion, the government could have saved between R60 billion and R70 billion on compensations, and could have eased the burden of budgetary deficit. The R420 billion turned out to be too abrupt a blow, and the people did not stand for it. Miners and workers in Minsk rose up. Pavlov had to give back everything and then some. The end was merely postponed. Liberalization would have established the genuine prices of goods, whereas a simple increase did not disentangle anything.

[Bekker] In essence, Pavlov ratified the existing cost-based prices which included absenteeism, excessive consumption of raw materials, and agricultural machinery wrecked by drunks. He merely raised the plank automatically.

[Yasin] The most modest plans of the government to bring internal prices closer to those in the world evaporated: Prices for energy sources are controlled, and prices for finished products are partially free. The prime minister is right with regard to depressing demand, but how is it being done? Look at, say, the exchange of bills. Let us say that the government would announce it and at the same time would freeze all deposits for half a year. A week later, prices would be set free for 60 to 70 percent,

if not for all. Since there is less money in circulation, panic buying is reduced, and prices settle down to a considerable degree. This is approximately what Ludwig Erhard, the architect of the German economic miracle, did in 1947. So, they would have berated Pavlov, but later they would have admitted that our prime minister is not all that stupid.

[Bekker] Pavlov wasted a chance to become a Soviet Erhard.

[Yasin] Because he did not coordinate the exchange of bills with the price increase. If one soccer player makes a masterful pass, but the forward runs in to pick it up a minute later, the audience will not get to see a goal.

[Bekker] Could you tell us why Gorbachev, before taking leave, instructed the head of the Cabinet to compile a plan for financial stabilization within 10 days? After all, there already is an economic program developed together with the republics. It includes "a stringent regimen of financing budgetary expenditures at reduced norms," and a moratorium on new programs, and credit which is, as a rule, provided on a commercial basis rather than free. The i's have been dotted even with regard to the tax: a single-channel for all republics, and double-channel for Russia and the Ukraine.

[Yasin] Wait a second. What tax has been set? Do you know the rate?

[Bekker] A resolution of the Union Government said 10 percent.

[Yasin] This tax, extortionist and uncoordinated with the republics, outraged them and was doomed to be obstructed. However, what is the federal tax at present? I tried to find out, and nobody in the high echelons said anything specific. This means that there is no specific mechanism for sustaining the budget, and in the absence of it the economy will be in agony. Everything will be in vain until there is a clear-cut formula: a value-added tax at the following rate has been introduced; this is a federal tax which is divided in two—the following percentage goes to the Union budget, and the other segment into the republic budget.

I will go back to the concept of the stabilization mechanism. It should contain a precise description of the budgetary arrangement, including restrictions on the deficit, and a tax system with unambiguous findings as to which taxes are taken in by whom. A banking system which is rigidly centralized is the second part of the mechanism. I am a democrat in terms of my convictions, and I believe that the republics should be let go—love cannot be bought or sold; it is uncivilized to let fists fly when your wife is leaving you. However, there are economic laws: If we have a unified monetary system and we want order, we must have a central bank. It is absolutely inconceivable to allow incongruous interest rates and bank reserve requirements. Political games with finances are impermissible. The economy is too serious an endeavor to allow politicians to touch it. However, it was precisely on the issues of money and financing that the professionals were frozen out.

If Gorbachev instructed Pavlov to finally find a consensus before going on leave, then I am happy despite being sure that 10 days will not be enough, because it is useless to entrust this task to the prime minister; it should be given by the leaders of the republics to governments, ministers of finance, and bankers—so that, having assembled, the above would ultimately agree on the structure of Union-republic budgets. If you split off tomorrow—well, introduce national currencies, accumulate gold reserves, and set up customs. This will take two to three years, which will be far from serene: There will be battles with the center and altercations with neighbors. Meanwhile, all of us are falling into the abyss. If you do have a head on your shoulders you say: "We have accomplished political self-determination, but this economic mechanism will be in effect for four to five years." I am in complete agreement with Yavlinskiy, who said that in a critical situation, professionals should manage the economy rather than popular personalities.

[Bekker] Here you are pointing a finger at the republics and reproaching the leaders as well. I appreciate that political battles which destroy the economy put you off as a professional. However, imagine that the republics transfer funds to the budget of the Union, to the stabilization fund, without a murmur, and Valentin Sergeyevich continues to satisfy the appetites of the military-industrial complex, hands out subsidies to plants and collective farms operating at a loss, and finances still new construction projects. Billions flow, and the government, as is its custom, will reach for the coffers of the State Bank in order to patch up holes in the budget: In the six years of perestroyka, the USSR Council of Ministers has irretrievably withdrawn about R400 billion from accounts—incidentally, our accounts.

[Yasin] You are right to a degree. The center should be under constant pressure in order for it to learn to husband the treasury. However, the confrontation with republics has turned into a string of arbitrary acts. What is the Federation Council for? Have courage to insist on your way within its framework. It does not work? Solve problems in the interrepublic economic council. In our country, a republic leader who did not give money to the central budget considers himself a winner at present: His teachers, agrarians, and workers are satisfied. Actually, it is a defeat for all. The center will print money for its needs: There is a flood of rubles, the stores are empty, the prices grow, and the people get angry. If our people, like Western taxpayers, saw direct linkage between family and state budgets, and understood that the more bills are printed and handed out to them the worse they live, they would make the politicians heed the economists.

[Bekker] The Ministry of Economics, the Institute of Prognostication, and the State Committee for Statistics (GKS) predicted where the economy will be by the end of the year. The optimism of the bosses is the command for their subordinates. To the tune of upbeat interviews

given by Vladimir Shcherbakov, his ministry arrived at a 7.4-percent decline in the gross national product and a 3.6-percent decline in industrial output. The GKS had a fundamental difference with him—12.5 and eight percent respectively. What is your opinion?

[Yasin] Shcherbakov's statements are music to our ears, but I fail to see how he will stop the decline. Has it become easier for entrepreneurs? State requisitions, loans, and investments continue to be channeled to old structures. Where is a revival to come from?

The State Committee for Statistics is closer to the truth, though, as I see it, they did not convey the gravity of the situation either. Our foreign debt has reached $65 billion, and debt repayment has exceeded 40 percent of hard-currency proceeds. This is a collapse by world standards, and they will not give us loans. In general, I envision a decline of between 15 and 17 percent in the gross national product. The most deplorable point is that the decline will mainly occur at the expense of foodstuffs and consumer goods rather than tanks, without which we could get by somehow.

[Bekker] You know Pavlov well. Having opted for a patently inflationary scenario for the country, did he consider it the only way to save the country, or the only way to stay in the Cabinet?

[Yasin] I would not like to discuss the prime minister's personal motives because this is like reading tea leaves. Of course, as any regular politician, Pavlov wished to rule "long and happily." Perhaps, he believed that he could save the state. As far as evaluating his actions from a professional vantage point... I may fault him for how he pursued this policy but not for its thrust. Even before Prime Minister Pavlov, an inflationary path was preordained for us, and I wrote about it...

[Bekker] In the magazine KOMMUNIST, about a year and a half ago.

[Yasin] Right. At the time, I was reproached by domestic and Western colleagues alike: This cannot be allowed to happen; strict price controls are necessary. In my mind, I understood that the Ryzhkov government will not go for a deflationary shock, due to the political situation. I thought that Pavlov had nothing to lose: He would burn bridges and open up the economy. I was mistaken; he turned out to be too cautious in order to play to win. He did not coordinate the exchange of bills with the price increase. He liberalized prices only for 40 percent of goods, and he kept them fixed for that much again. The main point is that the government behaves like a chief of supply section rather than a political organ. It is sly, it haggles with the republics rather than implements policy. I do not justify republic governments either, but their lack of confidence in the Cabinet is natural. Since you have lied once, who will trust you? Look at Resolution No. 360 of the Cabinet of Ministers issued in June. This is a direct provocation against the republics. Apparently, Valentin Sergeyevich thinks that he has accomplished a revolution by setting state requisitions for 1992 at 50 and 70 percent... He later told me that it reads "up to 50" and "up to 70" percent.

[Bekker] An official of any rank will always use the "topmost" number.

[Yasin] This is one point. Here is another: Volumes of production have declined so much that, under the resolution, enterprises must once again give virtually all output to the state. There are crumbs for the market... I appreciate the delicate position of the prime minister: He put together the Cabinet of Ministers when there was another political and economic game plan—a move to the right. It turns out now that virtually the entire composition, less Pavlov and Shcherbakov, comes out against dismantling the distribution system.

This is the key element of economic policy: The most painful things have to be done in order to accomplish a breakthrough now. Politically, it is already difficult and perhaps impossible for the Pavlov government to do this. After all, since Ryzhkov's times, the tradition has been to act so that the coming day would not be worse than this day. Nobody can bring himself to inflict pain today in order to make tomorrow easier. However, it is paradoxical that all measures of the government get nowhere: Relations between enterprises are severed anyway, and the ruble falls into decay. They used to say: We cannot go for curing finances, or else we will have a recession. Now we have a recession without curing anything. Courage and accord among the people who hold power are necessary, as well as their readiness to sacrifice ephemeral political advantages for the sake of saving the country. Inflation has come into its own to such a degree that it is breaking out of all administrative fetters.

[Bekker] A couple of months ago, Yegor Gaydar said that if Pavlov brings himself to commit an act of self-immolation and sets prices free, history will vindicate him, no matter how much they talk about him now as an antipeople prime minister.

[Yasin] I am afraid that Pavlov's time is gone. The seat of the architect of the Soviet economic miracle is vacant.

Analysis Center Views Economic Performance

PM2008132791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the "Events and Commentary" rubric: "Where is the End of the Recession?"]

[Text] **First a brief word about the source of the information published below. It is "Sovekon", the Center for Economic Analysis and Forecasting which was recently set up in Moscow comprising economists, sociologists, and jurists from authoritative research institutes and organizations around the country. The center offers its product—analyses of the current state and prospects of**

the Soviet economy—to the press, business people, people's deputies, in short anyone who needs it. Today "Sovekon" appears for the first time on the pages of IZVESTIYA.

Judging by information from current statistical returns, the progressive decline of industrial output had been successfully slowed down somewhat by the middle of this year. The pace of the decline of average daily output volumes for industrial products in June stabilized at April-May's level (whereas the corresponding period last year saw a decline of 6.1 percent). This can be assessed primarily as a result of the curtailment of the strike movement. However, this is not yet a sign of the economy's transition to a stage of revived economic activity.

Proceeding from emerging trends and enterprises' production plans, the reduction in output volumes of goods at comparable prices could be estimated at some 10 percent compared to last year's level. This year, the drop in the output of metal products will be the largest. By year's end, the manufacture of finished rolled metal products will fall by an average of 13 percent to reach approximately 96-98 million tonnes (last year it was 112 million tonnes), and that of steel pipes by 9.5 percent to around 18 million tonnes (in 1990—19.5 million tonnes).

The situation in the economy's fuel and raw materials sector is complex. Inevitably, this will reflect on the production of the most important types of energy resources. Thus, it can be predicted with a great degree of probability that by year's end oil extraction will drop to 500-505 million tonnes (last year it was 551 million tonnes), coal extraction to 620-630 million tonnes (703 million tonnes last year), and electricity generation to 1.71 billion kilowatt-hours (1.728 kilowatt-hours were generated in 1990).

Against this background, only gas production will reflect relatively favorable dynamics. Annual gas extraction could increase by 1 percent and reach 820-825 billion cubic meters by year's end (last year it was 815 billion cubic meters).

The slump of production in the economy's raw materials sector anticipated by year's end will have an effect on the manufacture of metal-intensive machine building output. By year's end, the production of tractors will drop by almost 13 percent, barely exceeding 430,000 units; that of freight and main line cars by 13 percent; and the production of automobiles by almost 9 percent to 1.9 million units. By year's end there will be a 9-11 percent decline in machine building production.

This will also affect petroleum refining and basic chemical industry products to the same extent. Calculations indicate that automobile gasoline production will fall by 4-5 percent and diesel fuel production by the same amount. Furnace fuel oil production will fall by 2-3 percent and mineral fertilizer manufacture will drop to 28-30 million tonnes.

The decline of industrial output will have a smaller effect on technically complex consumer durables. The annual production volume for television sets will reach approximately 10 million units, with refrigerators and freezers at 6.3-6.4 million units; for radio receivers, this level will be 8.8-9.0 million units.

When appraising the current economic conditions it is necessary to bear in mind that around 10 percent of the production plans adopted by enterprises for this year are not fixed by contracts. At the same time, the scale of shortfalls in the delivery of products to the consumer is increasing. In May alone, shortfalls in industry increased by 3.4 billion rubles [R], and by R4.6 billion in June, reaching a total of R17.9 billion for the first six months. This is 1.7 times more than in the corresponding period last year. All of this indicates that the actual scale of the fall in production will probably be even more sizeable compared to enterprises' production plans.

In our view, the decline in production being observed is only very marginally due to structural causes. Up to now, the removal of the inefficient part of our depreciated production capital has been practically non-existent. Consequently, this still lies ahead. Many of the most significant problems conditioning the current crisis situation are in the "self-development" phase. The current and the future state of the country's national economy depend upon the way this "self-development" will progress.

Agricluture

RSFSR Agriculture Minister Interviewed

914A1073A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Jul 91 p 1

[Interview with RSFSR Minister of Agriculture G. Kulik by Yelena Tokareva prior to Kulik's resignation from the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party; place not given: "You Cannot Let Go of Prices in a Period of Recession"]

[Text] **Several days ago, a letter in a blue envelope was hand-carried to our newspaper by a courier. The letter was signed by a collective of authors: Yu. Belyy, V. Zakharov, V. Tikhomirov, and other members of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Commission for Agrarian Policy and Liaison With the Peasant Movement expressed their attitude toward the resignation of RSFSR Minister of Agriculture G. Kulik from the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. In keeping with an old party tradition, former comrades immediately heap accusations on those behind whom the door has just closed. In the letter, G. Kulik was accused of abandoning his native Central Committee for the sole purpose of evading being held accountable by the peasants "for all he has done." In the opinion of Russian apparatchik-Communists, G. Kulik is guilty of "playing into the hands" of pseudodemocrats and**

daring to support the concept of selling and purchasing land. Apparently, the full letter will find its way to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

We are offering to our readers an interview with G. Kulik which was recorded long before his resignation from the Russian Central Committee. In the interview, he outlined quite clearly his views on the agricultural reform in Russia, which are far from being ultraleftist. I for one may add that G. Kulik has the reputation of being a very conservative person in the radical camp. He is a very cautious reformer. This is why the stream of accusations found in the letter of his comrades is directed against G. Kulik not as an agricultural functionary but merely as a former Bolshevik who dared to abandon the clan at a difficult juncture.

[Tokareva] What is characteristic of the first spring of land reform?

[Kulik] A mass movement of the populace to seize land and the creation of fruit and vegetable gardens are characteristic. In March and April alone, 4,364 families received land, 271,000 hectares were distributed. In Moscow Oblast, 969,000 families became "landowners."

[Tokareva] I am aware that in Moscow Oblast, not only sovkhoz [state farm] directors and kolkhoz chairmen are unhappy with Resolutions Nos. 110 and 111 of the RSFSR Council of Ministers which impose the obligation to allocate land for vegetable gardens, but also local inhabitants from whom grazing land for cattle is being confiscated.

[Kulik] Of course, they are not universally enthusiastic about this massive invasion of rural areas by the urban population and the desire of the latter to get involved in planting potatoes themselves. However, things will settle as time goes by. At present, it is important for our entire society to resolve the foodstuffs issue.

[Tokareva] Nonetheless, it appears to me that the policy of the RSFSR Council of Ministers runs somewhat counter to the innermost interests of the most influential lobby in the Supreme Soviet of the republic, the agrarian lobby. The deputies are unhappy with the progress of land reform, the "leftism" of the government, and support for owner-operated farms. They exaggerate rumors about kolkhozes and sovkhozes being disbanded, which incidentally are absolutely groundless. Recently, the issue of the political legitimacy of the Russian laws on land was raised at a congress of the USSR Peasant Union. Our agrarian deputies are more fond of talking about how little full-fledged work on the land the state provides for kolkhozes and sovkhozes, how it is indebted to them. The topic of creating an agrarian republic with the agro-industrial complex being a clear-cut priority and the entire economy operating for the benefit of the agrarian sector is the most popular.

[Kulik] I was also privy to developing this concept. In 1988, I wrote an article in PRAVDA, "Are the Russian Peasants Lazy?" in which I argued that our peasantry has been shortchanged a lot. Many people liked this idea, and now they perform it like "The Dove."

[Tokareva] Frankly, having read the draft of yet another program, "Grain of Russia," one of a series of global programs for the development of agriculture, I was surprised by how much was promised in it to kolkhozes and sovkhozes on behalf of the state and its treasury, which is quite empty. For example, payments in foreign exchange at world-price levels for above-the-plan grain and that sold to the state in excess of the tax in kind. Where will the state get foreign exchange for such payments, to say nothing of payments at world prices? After all, we still have not settled with sovkhozes under the Check-90 program. In addition, the government is preparing a draft on the internal convertibility of the ruble which provides for enterprises turning in all foreign exchange for rubles, to be sure, at market rates. The licensing of foreign economic operations will be relaxed. Prime Minister V. Pavlov is also vigorously steering our ship toward the high seas of a market economy. At any rate, he states this.

[Kulik] At present, everything is licensed to such a degree that we have nothing to do. I cannot export without a license what the agricultural complex produces. Our government resolved to trade 10 percent of what we produce for equipment and technology. However, this decision of the republic government remained suspended: Customs demand licenses issued by Union organs for each shipment of cargo. In January of this year, the Union Government issued a resolution signed by L. Voronin which in essence is directed against all independent economic operations by enterprises and commercial structures. An excessive burden of taxes is now placed on all imports and exports.

[Tokareva] This tax policy has now been extended to individuals. This is a very strange tax policy for a country with absolutely empty store shelves.

However, rural areas will still remain inefficient even if the government meets all obligations with regard to their social development set forth in the well-known program for social development! Our agrarians should not put their faith only in the social aspects of perestroyka.

[Kulik] The social program is only one aspect of the problem. Intensive development calls for modern technologies and better varieties. We have now pushed through arrangements to trade 1,000 tons of sunflower seeds from Hungary for finished products—sunflower grown in our country. The Hungarians are asking for 17 kilograms of the finished product for one kilogram of their seeds. However, even this is advantageous to us because our standard of seed planting is 20 to 25 kilograms per hectare, and their standard is five kilograms. The yield of sunflower is, as a rule, three to four quintals greater. Besides, the raw material is first-grade.

[Tokareva] What is the role of prices in stimulating the growth of production?

[Kulik] Thirty-two percent of the products of agriculture are sold at free-market prices. The principle of unrestricted and contract prices applies to all fruit and vegetable products, potatoes, late vegetables, and industrial crops. However, there is a "BUT" involved here. There are two points of view on price setting. The first one calls for letting go of the prices for literally everything.

[Tokareva] Grain, for example...

[Kulik] Grain means meat. In this case, egg and milk prices must be released. Only two sectors will remain which will have to be regulated: oil and sugar production, that is, sugar beets and sunflower.

Therefore, at present we need to either release prices for everything, or to work as we do now, controlling some types of products. My firm position is: Prices cannot be decontrolled in a period of declining production. We will have to maintain order administratively for a while longer.

[Tokareva] You see, administrative measures do not work, but here we are emphasizing them again. Meanwhile, our popular agrarian economists persistently propose the opposite—to decontrol prices for virtually everything. In your opinion, do they fail to fully figure out the situation?

[Kulik] Let us count. We may now foresee that meat would cost 35 rubles [R] per kilogram, as it does in the markets of Moscow. This means that we should index the incomes of the population in a timely manner. However, there is still no income index; this has not gone beyond discussion. Are they afraid to introduce it, or what? This index keeps circulating in classified documents, but the people are not aware of it. This means that there is no index. The set of goods which need to be monitored has not been determined.

We have not embarked on indexation work inside agriculture. We calculate the indexes of the growth of prices for agricultural products and urban products used by agriculture. We have selected 2,500 farms for such work. However, these are merely the first steps.

[Tokareva] You have repeatedly stated the thesis that kolkhozes and sovkhozes may be the only support that the young movement of farmer-owners has, that these very state structures will be able to integrate the farmers into the economic mainstream. It appears to me that this position will drag out land reform for 200 years, and will make farmers hopelessly dependent on sovkhozes.

[Kulik] Yes, I have said repeatedly that the idea of integrating farmers with kolkhozes and sovkhozes must now be supported in every way possible. Why? As it is, a specific political situation is characteristic of a given period of time. If we take a realistic look, this is what the situation is at present: complete dominance of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Ignoring this is like being a babe in the woods of politics. All of our infrastructures were created, and are adapted, for serving kolkhozes and sovkhozes. When there are many peasant farms, and when their concentration in a particular region comes to a point at which they are able to compete with socialized structures in terms of products turned out, they will be able to set up their own systems of supply and product sales, their own processing, and their own procurement network. At present, the entire processing industry is prepared to sign contracts for the delivery of products with anybody at all. However, in reality the industry may only be saturated by large producers—kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

[Tokareva] Indeed, it is common knowledge that our processing industry—I call it "a meat dictator"—is geared only to large-scale production.

[Kulik] Those who are telling you that small-scale processing industries dominate in the West are lying. Large processing enterprises also prevail there. However, they are combined with small enterprises. At present, we also pursue the policy of bringing the processing industry closer to production, and we believe that rayon size is optimal. Indeed, a stupid thing was allowed to occur—all meat-packing combines ended up being in oblast seats. We are now taking this position: Rayon meat-packing combines with an output of 20 to 30 tons of meat per shift. Such combines may be built on a cooperative basis; farmers may also participate. However, all of this will happen tomorrow. There is also the present. If we do not find at present an opportunity to integrate farmers and prevailing structures, I do not know what can help us. Imagine this: You are a farmer, you produce milk 100 or 200 kilometers away from the city. What are you going to do with the milk? It is another matter that structures serving kolkhozes and sovkhozes should be reformed.

[Tokareva] Are measures for regions which are not self-sufficient in food envisaged in your strategy of developing agriculture along efficient lines?

[Kulik] On the whole, I support the concept of self-sufficiency and self-supply of food in the oblasts. Tyumen and Irkutsk Oblasts should think about developing their own agriculture. Industry should be made to provide amenities in rural areas, and construction establishments should be made to work for the rural areas. Tyumen-type reasoning—we will sell our oil and buy foodstuffs—has now become somewhat obsolete. This is a pernicious path. Look at Japan. Their agriculture produces more expensively in terms of labor input than, say, in Europe or America. Internal prices for agricultural products are higher than world prices. Given the surplus of foodstuffs in the world market, foodstuffs would rush in there tomorrow, and Japanese farmers would be ruined. However, Japan has adopted a special law which shelters the farmers from competition. Meanwhile, we keep saying: The market is uncontrollable. Here is an example of a regulated market for you. The country first buys everything, even at high prices, from its peasants, and later makes purchases freely from other countries.

[Tokareva] Apparently, this is due to the sad international experience of a country that has been at war many times. Other countries supply you with foodstuffs now, but the situation changes tomorrow, and you may very well get blockaded.

[Kulik] Precisely. Our own agricultural production should be developed wherever possible.

This is the road we will take. This is the road of realists, and we are realists.

Grain Problems in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast

PM2208104191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent N. Mironov under the rubric "Summer Feeds the Whole Year": "But the Brokers Are Not Stingy. There Is Grain on the Farms. But Will There Be Grain in the State Granaries?"]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk—So, will we have grain this winter? This question is being asked today not just by inhabitants of the country's eastern regions where, as we know, there has been a drought. It is constantly asked in Ukrainian newspapers and on television screens as well.

"In order to get through the winter normally, we have to purchase at least 17 million tonnes," the republic's leaders declare on television, and appeal to the consciences of kolkhoz chairmen, asking them not to hold back the harvested grain.

"There is enough grain for food, only forage is needed," members of the Union government say reassuringly in the "Vremya" program.

But what happens at local level, where grain has already been gathered from the fields but has not yet been allotted a winter owner? I put this question to Ya. Pokhilenko, first secretary of Solpyanskiy Raykom [rayon party committee], leader of Communists in a grain-growing region in the Dnepropetrovsk area.

"Oh, don't even ask! Such chaos, with the corn threatening to disappear at any moment into the wrong granaries," Yakov Ivanovich exclaims in a fit of temper, explaining: "The republic promised the peasants to supply scarce goods in exchange for any grain in excess of the average levels of grain sales during the last five-year plan. But today that is practically unrealistic. The Union government has promised to pay in convertible currency for grain produced in excess of the plan, but at the last moment it asked us to wait a while. Meanwhile brokers have been sitting for a long time in the kolkhozes, ready to pay at once 4,000 rubles [R] per tonne of any sort of grain. And some of them have been successful. Had there been anywhere to store it, the kolkhozes might have waited. But it goes to waste in our barns. You can't even get the R1,200 that the state is paying. That means either money today, or nothing tomorrow."

The situation is indeed far from straightforward. Dnepropetrovsk Oblast has sold to the state just over 700,000 of the 900,000 tonnes that were promised. Nothing more can be obtained for the time being, although Kiev is putting on the pressure, as the saying goes. They are even talking about 1.2 million tonnes. You have the grain, they say. Yes, for the time being we do. But after all, you can't just grab it with twenties-style food confiscation brigades! You have to buy the grain.

It seems we are going toward the market. But, however strange it may appear, this has not been made clear by those who declaim about the market loudest of all from the rostrums.

"Yes, if they were to offer even R3,000 per tonne, the peasants would still sell," Ya. Pokhilenko says. "After all, it will go to brokers!...

And how is it not to go to the brokers? If the kolkhoz members do sell the grain, it will not be because they have grain to spare. The brokers offer, apart from anything else, barter deals: sometimes bricks, sometimes timber, sometimes cement. And many farms in the Ukraine today actually need construction materials for housing and stockbreeding units more than anything else. These materials are sometimes more badly needed than cars or television sets. Especially since the cars that have been promised are five times less than required. How are they to be shared out between kolkhozes and sovkhozes? This will only produce dissent, and there will be countless grudges.

Although they themselves are short of forage grain, they sell grain to other regions. In comparison with the same period of last year the oblast sold almost 10 percent—in other words 15,800 tonnes—less livestock and poultry. Milk sales were down 6.7 percent, or 45,700 tonnes. Livestock is being produced at below the required state of nourishment. The milk yield from cows is down by 76 kg. Herds have decreased by 8,000 cows. In the first seven months of the year 29,000 head of cattle, almost 94,000 hogs, and 22,000 sheep died [palo]. There was a smaller increase in the number of young animals. This spring only 68 calves were produced per 100 cows.

If the state had been capable of trading with the peasant, if forage had been in plentiful supply, surely this situation would not have arisen? Surely the peasant would not have allowed a fall in the output of livestock produce, which the republic's inhabitants are manifestly short of?

In brief, the grain is there. But the market dictates its own conditions. The situation today can be changed if a mutually beneficial exchange is arranged with the countryside. And without delay! Grain will be considerably more expensive tomorrow. After all, it will have to be bought not from the kolkhozes, but on the stock exchange.

Scientific

Mir Cosmonauts Continue Experiments

LD0908195291 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 9 Aug 91

[By a special correspondent reporting from the Mission Control Centre]

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—The crew of the orbital space complex Mir carried out in the past week a series of experiments in two fields of modern space science: Geophysics and technology.

The cosmonauts Anatoliy Artsebarskiy and Sergey Krikalev photographed Soviet territory under a programme of the study of the earth's natural resources and environment. Today they monitored Kazakhstan regions, assessing the state of that Central Asian republic's crops.

In keeping with a programme of space technology, the crew grew another silicon monocrystal, a high-quality semi-conductor.

Using the Krater-V electric furnace, they started today a melting process to last 120 hours. The melting is aimed to produce another monocrystal, cadmium sulfide. In the future such materials will be brought to earth for use in microelectronic equipment.

Medical check-ups show that both Artsebarskiy and Krikalev are in good health after two and a half months in orbit.

Unload Space Freighter

LD1308163491 Moscow TASS in English 1403 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Text] Flight Control Centre August 13 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Anatoliy Artsebarskiy and Sergey Krikalev on board the orbiting platform Mir effectively completed all planned unloading and other operations involving the cargo craft Progress M-8. The space freighter is to be jettisioned from the platform on Thursday night.

The cosmonauts also continued planned space materials studies using equipment known as Pion. The latest experiments aimed to ascertain the influence of dynamic stresses from the platform's operating facilities on the growth of monocrystals of semi- conducting materials during spaceflight.

Other experiments concerned samples of structural materials exposed for a long time to raw space.

A medical check demonstrated that both cosmonauts are in good health and feeling well. Artsebarskiy's pulse is 64 beats a minute and Krikalev's, 60 beats. Their arterial pressure is respectively 120 x 80 and 115 x 70 millimetres of the mercury cloumn.

Assemble 14-Meter-Long Arm

PM2208081791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0545 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Interview with Viktor Blagov, Mir mission deputy flight director, by presenter V.I. Sevastyanov; from the "Man, Earth, Universe" program; date, place of interview not stated]

[Text] [Blagov] These four space walks have occupied 23 hours 55 minutes. That's the total time spent working outside the station. Almost a day. This crew has spent a day—all bar five minutes—working outside the station. Why such a long time? What did they do during these four space walks? They built virtually with their own hands a 14-meter-long arm from ready-made elements, fragments. The arm was put together in an unusual manner—the joints were effected using collars [shayba] made of memory-effect metal. This is the first time we've carried out this kind of work in orbit. This was both experimental work and was also of a purely practical significance.

As far as the experimental work is concerned, it was a question of studying the possibilities of assembling structures by this method and of measuring their rigidity, and the possibilities of using the structure for practical tasks that I may mention a little later. As far as our practical aims are concerned, this arm may serve as the site of the attitude-control motor, for instance. It has been moved a long way from the center of mass, 14 meters from the surface of the station, from the center of mass, which may have a tremendous effect during attitude control using the rocket motor.

[Sevastyanov] That's natural because of the propulsive mass flow [raskhod rabochego tela].

[Blagov] It's inversely proportional to the size of the arm.

[Sevastyanov] Of course.

[Blagov] If the arm of the engine mounted on the surface of the station is roughly two meters, add another 14 meters, then you have 14 times less flow.

[Sevastyanov] This is a task that must be dealt with as regards all long-term autonomous [yedinosushestvuyushchiy] space complexes.

[Blagov] Without fail. Scientific instruments that are malfunctioning can be mounted on this platform, at the end of this arm. Work is being moved outside the station's atmosphere—like a small planet the station also has its own atmosphere.

[Sevastyanov] Its own atmosphere?

[Blagov] This sometimes distorts some very precise, precision measurements in orbit. This is also a very valuable structure in this respect. In itself a spacewalk is a risky process, a very emotional and physically difficult operation.

The guys showed us their arms after their last space walk. Just imagine the hematomas on their flexions! These were found where the spacesuit and the gloves met, and on their biceps. For such hard physical work spacesuits are adjusted to fit a specific height. Our spacesuits are not multisize, they allow a man of any height to carry out his work.

[Sevastyanov] I have done a lot of work in a spacesuit and know how everyone is plagued by them.

[Blagov] It's real work. I'm very pleased. They've done such good work, real hard work. I must say that this crew works very accurately, very neatly and makes virtually no mistakes. [item ends after approximately three minutes and 27 seconds]

Earth Atmosphere Experiment Fails

LD1608205491 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The flight control center near Moscow and the crew of the Soviet space station Mir were carrying out experiments in orbit last night. Our special correspondents report on the details.

[Unidentified correspondent] The space truck Progress, having completed its mission, was undocked from the station and directed toward a suitable point for filming. It was expected that the experiment would be very spectacular, but the reality has exceeded all expectations—what has happened in orbit does not require comment. [video shows silvery balloon inflating unevenly and then collapsing with pieces flying off it; it is then shown floating limply]

This balloon is a model of the probe which should have been inflated last night in orbit. [video shows model of balloon in studio] Of course, the one in space would be about five times larger. This is a light balloon covered with aluminium foil and it would be very easy to observe from Earth. If this experiment were successful, the scientists could get information about the profile of the top layers of the Earth's atmosphere. This is very important for correcting the orbits of space probes. Remember the recent early demise of the Salyut-7 orbital station which frightened half of the planet with its sudden fall. After five or six orbits of the Earth—which is the life-span of the probe—we could have some idea about the meteorite flow and the flow of of technological waste.

[V. Bass, doctor of technical sciences, identified by caption] Space flights have become more dangerous. Before spending such money on expensive programs it is, after all, necessary to predict what will be in space, as I already said, so that we do not collide with, say, our own trash.

[Correspondent] Well, the first pancake turned out lumpy.

[Bass] As we were joking after the unsuccessful flight, we got a flying carpet instead of a balloon. At least it made a successful flying carpet.

[Correspondent] There are no grounds for concern. Today this space flying carpet will burn up while entering the atmosphere. And this morning Progress wreckage has already sunk somewhere in the Pacific.

Buran to Dock With Mir

LD1608125691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The Soviet space station Mir continues its flight manned by a crew of two, Anatoliy Artsebarskiy and Sergey Krikalev. The bulk of the Soviet Union's activities in terrestrial space are associated with the station. But what are the station's prospects? Well to tell uas about that here is our science correspondent, Boris Belitskiy.

[Belitskiy] The Mir space complex today consists not only of the Mir station proper. [passage omitted]

Work is therefore under way on a second stage Mir station. Outwardly it will differ little from its predecessor. But inside it will carry new equipment. For one thing, it will have a more powerful heat regulating system. This is necessary for the following reason. So long as the present Mir station is manned by a crew of two or three all is well. But when there are two crews on board during the station handover period from one crew to another, the thermal regulation system does not cope with its job. Both the temperature and the humidity rise above their normal levels, causing problems.

The new station is also to have a more powerful computer and gyro beams [as heard] for stabilization purposes. Undoubtedly various research instruments too will be modernized. For example, the devices for producing biologically active substances, biological crystals, and optical glass, and this will be another step toward establishing factories in space.

Let me now speak of the actual operation to replace the present station with a new one. There are now two projects for accomplishing this. One of them would be based on using the shuttle Buran. Buran would be orbited to catch the new Mir station, by then already in orbit. It would then tow the new station and attach it to the front of the old Mir. With the help of a manipulator it would then reattach two or three modules from the old station to the new one. After that several unmanned Progress supply craft would detach the modules due for retirement from the old Mir, and would jettison them in an appropriate part of the ocean.

The second project envisages none of these complicated manoeuvres. It simply provides for the establishment of a station similar to the present one, and this in view of most experts would be less expensive and more reliable than the first project.

Well, meanwhile at the end of this year, there's likely to be another flight of the Soviet Shuttle Buran. The second flight, like the first, will be an unmanned flight, but it would involve a docking with the Mir station. The station's crew are to transfer to the Shuttle and test its systems. Our mission is scheduled to last a week.

Caspian Pollutant Concentrations 'Far Too High'

PM2208084791 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 0945 GMT 16 Aug 91

[From the "Caspian—Common Concern" documentary]

[Text] [video begins with shot of people walking down a sandy road] [Reporter] There is a concept of "maximum permissible concentrations." Put simply, these are the standards covering contaminants. Such contaminants pose a danger to humans—otherwise there'd be no need to issue standards for them. It is considered that any pollution which exceeds permissible limits poses a threat to the health and safety of all living things. But it is well known that interested departments and organizations in our country have exerted substantial pressure on the setting of maximum contamination levels. And they do not take the safety interests of all living things into account when setting those standards. Consequently, our Soviet standards often exceed the corresponding foreign standards. But since we have nothing else to go on, let's work on the basis of our maximum pollution standards. So then, maximum permissible concentrations in the Caspian are exceeded as follows: petroleum products by a factor of 10, suspended matter by a factor of 85, and phenol by a factor of 15. The maximum permissible concentrations of iron, copper, and nitrates are far too high. [video ends with shot of the deck of a ship]

Yazov Recalls Spaceflight by Cosmonaut Titov

PM1308153991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 August 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "German Titov: 'One Day and the Whole of Life'"]

[Excerpt] The world's first whole-day spaceflight, performed in 1961 by G.S. Titov, a citizen of the USSR, convincingly proved one basic point: Terrestrials can live and work in space. In this sense the significance of the second cosmonaut's flight for the subsequent development of world cosmonautics is hard to exaggerate. This was what participants at a meeting devoted to the 30th anniversary of the flight talked about. It was held 6 August in Moscow.

Scientists and designers, USSR pilot-cosmonauts, specialists from the Yu.A. Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center and USSR Defense Ministry space units, state and public figures, and those who today prepare and make possible space launches and the work of expeditions in near-earth orbit reminisced about the genesis of national cosmonautics and talked about present-day problems, the outlook for the development of cosmonautics, and international cooperation in the development of near-earth space.

"German Stepanovich Titov belongs to the glorious cohort of the pioneers of the universe," USSR Defense Minister Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov said. "He was the stand-in for the earth's first cosmonaut Yu.A. Gagarin. It fell to him to take the second step, which was no less difficult." [passage omitted]

Operational HQ for Antarctic on Ship

LD1808154491 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 18 Aug 91

[By special correspondent Sergey Kulik]

[Text] Pretoria August 18 TASS—Soviet operational headquarters, set up on board the research ship Professor Viese in Capetown, will supervise operations to open a year-round air line to the Antarctica and help evacuate a group of Soviet Polar explorers who have ended their spell in the Antarctica.

An-74 Aircraft Presented With Certification

PM1408142591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 11 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast: Report by V. Lyaskalo and V. Sulima, identified by caption]

[Text] [Lyaskalo] The ceremonial presentation of the flight certification for the An-74 aircraft has taken place at the Antonov Scientific and Technical Complex' Design Bureau. Out of the several dozen Soviet aircraft currently flying only three types have such certification, attesting to their high, world-class reliability. These are the Il-62, the Yak-42, and the An-28. These have now been joined by another Antonov—the An-74. The aircraft will be the main workhorse for Arctic and Siberian routes. Even while undergoing flight tests it became very popular—visiting the Antarctic and the North Pole, and even setting nine world records. The Antonov workers are preparing several versions of the An-74—for ice reconnaissance, scientific research, cargo and passenger versions, and even a quick-change version for flying passengers out and bringing cargo back. There will also be a special model for businessmen and, possibly, tourists too.

Military

Pressure Exerted on Naval Officers Opposing Coup

OW2208152891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to data IF [INTERFAX] has received from reliable sources, at the Naval Staff there are

attempts to exert pressure on a group of officers who opposed the coup. On August 20, at the height of dramatic developments in Moscow and other cities, the officers adopted an appeal, urging the then defence minister Dimitry Yazov to declare that he withdraws from the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] and order the armed forces to refrain from taking part in political actions.

The group appealed to the staff and defence ministry officers to follow the instructions of the Russian President Boris Yeltsin who at that time was the only lawful leader.

At the moment representatives of politico-military bodies and party committees are interviewing the "rebellious officers" as to their loyalty.

Kiev Military District Short of Officers

OW1508004191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One serious problem the Kiev Military District is currently facing is a shortage of commissioned officers after more than 200 officers resigned over the last half a year—more than during the whole of last year.

Most of those resigning from the military are young officers, lieutenants fresh out of military schools. They explain their decision by a plummeting prestige of military career and a low salary they earn.

Kiev Air Academy Officers Criticize Rukh

91UM0827C Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed article: "We Do Not Change Our Colors"]

[Text] Kiev—The officers of the Ground Forces Air Defense Academy, based in Kiev, issued a statement concerning the recent Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka] action, the so-called congress of officers—Ukrainian citizens. Among other things, it states that certain political circles and other pseudopatriotic organizations continue their attempts to undermine the Union and to push the Ukraine on the road towards self-isolation, while ignoring the will of the people as it was displayed during the referendum of 17 March of this year. Nobody elected the congress participants or gave them any powers but the impostors assumed the right to speak in the name of the officers of military units and formations and military schools located in the Ukraine. Not being servicemen, these Rukh officials showed the full value of their true political ambitions at the congress.

Understanding that the Soviet Armed Forces present an unsurmountable obstacle in implementing those ambitions, says the statement, the nationalistic elements are making frenzied attempts to discredit them and break them up; they are making attempts to separate the military by ethnic houses and use them in future as tools for the realization of their far-reaching designs.

The officers of the academy have stated that they did and will serve their people alone, contrary to various declarations; they vowed to remain faithful to their oath, their constitution, and their motherland and to not change their colors.

The statement was signed by 579 officers.

Shaposhnikov, Others Sign Klochikhin's Obituary

PM1408100091 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4

[Obituary: "L.M. Klochikhin"]

[Excerpts] Retired Lieutenant General of Aviation Leonid Mikhaylovich Klochikhin, honored military pilot of the USSR, has died at the age of 63. [passage omitted]

L.M. Klochikhin was born in the village of Zheltura, Dzhidinskiy Rayon, Buryat SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], on 30 March 1928. He served in the USSR Armed Forces from 1947. He carried out international duty in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1973 and the Syrian Arab Republic in 1978. [passage omitted]

[Signed] Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, P.S. Deynekin, A.I. Malyukov, G.M. Benov, A.F. Borsuk, A.S. Goryainov, V.V. Yefanov, S.G. Ivanov, A.I. Ayupov, I.M. Kalugin, G.N. Matveyev, V.K. Fedorov, Ye.A. Rusanov, V.Ya. Kremlev, A.V. Borisov, V.P. Shpak, V.N. Kiryukhin.

Yazov, Others Sign Col Gen Yakushin's Obituary

PM0708155391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Aug 91 First Edition p 4

["Obituary of V.Z. Yakushin"]

[Excerpts] Colonel General (Retired) Vladimir Zakharovich Yakushin, veteran of the Great Patriotic War, has died unexpectedly at the age of 68.

V.Z. Yakushin was born into a worker's family in Tashkent on 2 July 1923. [passage omitted]

In the postwar period V.Z. Yakushin graduated from the Armored Troops Military Academy and the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy and served in responsible posts in the troops. [passage omitted] For a long time he was chief of the Ground Troops Main Staff. [passage omitted]

[Signed] D.T. Yazov, M.A. Moiseyev, K.A. Kochetov, N.I. Shlyaga, Yu.P. Maksimov, V.I. Varennikov, I.M. Tretyak, Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, V.N. Chernavin, V.M. Shuralev, V.M. Arkhipov, V.P. Mironov, V.A. Achalov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorov, V.F. Yermakov, Yu.A. Yashin, A.V. Betekhtin, M.P. Kolesnikov, N.A. Moiseyev, A.A. Galkin, A.A. Demidov, V.P. Kuznetsov,

Ye.I. Krylov, S.A. Mayev, V.M. Mikhalkin, V.Ye. Pavlov, M.Ye. Penkin, S.V. Petrov, V.F. Popov, Yu.T. Chesnokov.

Yazov in Honor Guard Prior to Kozhedub Interment

PM1408143391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Aug 91 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report: "On His Last Journey"]

[Text] On 13 August USSR Armed Forces servicemen and Moscow's working people saw off on his last journey Marshal of Aviation Ivan Nikitovich Kozhedub, eminent Soviet military leader, USSR people's deputy, participant in the Great Patriotic War, and thrice Hero of the Soviet Union.

The Red Banner Hall of the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army, where the coffin bearing the body of the deceased stood, was decked in mourning. Many wreaths were laid around the pedestal.

The honor guard included USSR Minister of Defense Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov, USSR deputy ministers of defense, and military leaders.

There was a funeral meeting at Novodevichye Cemetery, where I.N. Kozhedub was buried.

Yanayev, Yazov Attend Air Fleet Day Meeting

PM2108124391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "To Mark USSR Air Fleet Day"]

[Text] A festive meeting devoted to USSR Air Fleet Day took place in Moscow 16 August.

While paying tribute to the glorious traditions of the country's Air Fleet and the achievements of Soviet aviation science, the speakers also spoke about our aviation's difficult problems in the current complex period of our society's life and about ways of solving them.

USSR Vice President G.I. Yanayev; Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense; and others were at the meeting.

Foreign Observers Attend Pacific Fleet Exercises

PM2108124791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent V. Palagutin under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Exercise Completed"]

[Text] Pacific Fleet, 16 Aug—Events developed rapidly in the fleet exercise. One episode of the mock battle was replaced by another.

Everything that happened was "captured" on videotape and taken down in foreign observers' notebooks: sailing in formation, target location, the organization of defense, and the meeting engagement. It is these components that determine the outcome of operations.

"We are pleased with the results of the exercise," Admiral G. Khvatov, commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, told a TASS correspondent. "This trial of strength is of a confidential nature. The bridges of cooperation are being strengthened. We are the first in the Asia-Pacific region to embark on such a step. The fleet has twice—in 1989 and this year—invited foreign military specialists to our exercises and as far as possible we are showing them the whole arsenal of our operational and tactical actions. The process of cooperation has become irreversible, and this is the main result of the exercise."

All-Army Party Committee Meeting Held in Moscow

OW1608052891 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 2230 GMT 10 Aug 91

[From the "Radar-TV" program]

[Text] A meeting of Army Party Committee Secretaries and Chairmen of the Control Commissions of CPSU Organizations in the USSR Armed Forces was held at the Central Soviet Army House in Moscow. It coincided with the promulgation of the RSFSR President's Decree on Departyization. Maybe that is why the measure taken by the communists in the Army and Navy was perceived by many as a kind of response to that decree. Incidentally, the document itself provoked a far from simple reaction. [Video shows the Central Soviet Army House, conferees, then cuts to unidentified correspondent soliciting public opinion]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] The Party within the Army, what do you think about that?

[First man] The Army should be completely departyicized.

[Second man] Well, I am far from politics, but, as a veteran, I consider we have lost all sense of moderation in this process of democratization. This is not complete democratization.

[Correspondent] So, in your opinion the Army Party Organizations should continue to work?

[Second man] Of course, they should continue to work. Our youth does not have any kind of upbringing. We have lost all sense of upbringing. [Video shows the correspondent interviewing Lieutenant General M.S. Surkov, CPSU CC Politburo Member and Secretary of the All-Army Party Committee]

[Correspondent] And now, the opinion of the leader of the military communists.

[Surkov] The meeting of all the party committees was planned as far back as May. They prepared with one aim in mind, that now that the reform of party structures had

been completed, it was necessary to interpret our work. We worked out the approaches to the problem. How we were to restructure our work in conditions of democratization of our society, in conditions when a new party program was being developed. That is why the date for this meeting was set long before this decree. Without a doubt, evaluation of this decree was included in the agenda of this meeting, and participants' reaction to the RSFSR President's Decree was voiced, which was 99 percent negative. This is probably quite natural, inasmuch as the whole idea of departization contradicts all international laws, including human rights.

Right now, the party committees are undergoing a revival. Previously, the party structures were directed and organized by political organs, who acquired a lot of experience in leadership of party organizations. Today, all of the party work is locked into an independent structure, and the final result, of course, emerges in the party Central Committee. The main problem facing us is not to lose this close interaction between the Ministry of Defense, the Main Military Political Directorate, the commanders and staffs at all levels, and the party structures. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Colonel General Shlyaga, chief of Main Political Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces and first deputy minister of defense, addressed the meeting. [video shows Shlyaga speaking]

[Begin Shlyaga recording] Let us ask ourselves a question. Why do military political and party workers frequently lose control over the processes of formation in the forces and the fleets of a (?tranquil) ideological situation? It is because in many places this work has been (?driven) [words indistinct] and has been totally torn from reality. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The minister of defense, Marshal of the Soviet Union Yazov, expressed his best wishes to the party committees. [video shows Yazov addressing the meeting]

[Begin Yazov recording] It seems we need to increase our efforts, increase the turnover, so that the Communists of the Armed Forces do not find themselves in such a situation that they are organizationally splintered, morally disarmed in the theoretical situation, and by no means, where their knowledge is not perfected and strengthened. All the Armed Forces are floating (?aimlessly) without any form or direction, and are indifferent. [end recording]

After the work of the meeting finished, a joint plenum of the All-Army Party Committee and Control Commission was held, examining the moral and organizational reinforcement of party ranks.

Yazov Visits Carpathian Military District

PM1208143591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel V. Bogdanovskiy: "The USSR Defense Minister in the Carpathian Military District"]

[Text] Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, has been to the Carpathian Military District. He observed the battalion live-fire tactical exercises going on in the district training center. The minister of defense addressed the officers and generals participating in the methods course. He directed his audience's attention to the active search for forms and methods of work that would take into account to the utmost degree the fundamental tenets of Soviet defensive military doctrine. In his opinion, in the organization of defense you have to be rather careful in organizing cooperation between ground forces and army aviation subdivisions. Commanders should carry out a survey of methods and learn to use all their forces and resources to successfully carry out any tactical task and to use the local conditions for the maximum realization of possibilities provided by the weapons and military hardware. At field exercises, we need to create a situation whereby the personnel can act creatively and at full capacity, the minister of defense stressed.

Army Employee's Union Set Up in Belorussia

91UM0827B Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed article: "The Union Will Protect You"]

[Text] Minsk—The following information appeared recently on the pages of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet organ, the NARODNAYA GAZETA and it drew the interest of Soviet Army civilian employees primarily. The Belorussian Federation of trade unions helped to establish an organizing committee which should prepare and conduct the constituent congress of the republic Soviet Army civilian employees' union.

The first steps have already been made in designing the agreement between the commanders of the Belorussian military district and the organizing committee of the future union. They expect to discuss regulations on protection of the socioeconomic and labor rights for the civilian employees of military units.

The constituent congress of the new union is scheduled for the end of September.

Problems Facing Redeployed Units Investigated

PM2108122991

[Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 August 1991 First Edition carries on page 2 under the headline "On the 'Uninhabitable' Training Grounds" four reports, totaling 1,700 words, under a

general introduction headed "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Inspection" which reads as follows:

"The complexity of the economic and sociopolitical situation in the country, the reduction in the size of the Armed Forces, and the continuing withdrawal of units from the Western and Northern Groups of Forces are taking a heavy toll on the summer's military training. However, despite the difficulties, instruction, exercises, and training are under way in the districts. Units that have been withdrawn from East European countries have found themselves in the most complex situation. They are still settling in, and it is not easy for them to organize an intensive training process. Our correspondents report on how the commanders and staffs of redeployed units are resolving the problems of combat readiness in various military districts."

In a report headlined "Neither Indulgences Nor Allowances," Lieutenant Colonel I. Sergeyev from the Belorussian Military District notes that the upheaval caused by the redeployment of the Nikolayevsko-Budapest Guards Tank Division has hit the quality of training programs and led to problems with housing and the provision of hardware, but "in a word, the division commander believes, there are no serious objective or subjective factors standing in the way of combat training. Life is settling into the normal pattern of military routine."

In a report under the headline "Flights Will Not Be Postponed," Colonel A. Ladin from the Turkestan Military District notes the occurrence of almost identical problems following a helicopter regiment's move from the Western Group of Forces. Lieutenant Colonel G.P. Shkurin, senior staff representative, is cited on the question of military training as follows: "Despite all the difficulties, flights are scheduled to start as early as September. A pilot, like a musician, cannot stop practising for long, otherwise habits are lost."

In a report headlined "Time Is Desperately Short," Colonel A. Polyakov from the Kiev Military District stresses that the speed of one tank regiment's withdrawal from the Southern Group of Forces has led to accommodation shortages, a disruption of routine, and a decline in general combat readiness. Given the tight deadlines, the desired level of training has been difficult to organize and morale has suffered. However, with the arrival of warm weather, routine training is once more under way.

In a report under the headline "On Two Fronts," Colonel F. Semyanovskiy from the Moscow Military District describes the experiences of a missile and an artillery unit that have redeployed from the Western Group of Forces. Both units are having to train with new hardware. The missile division has been redeployed to an existing military city and has therefore had more time to concentrate on training; the artillery unit has had to build accommodation and provide facilities virtually from scratch. Training is progressing nonetheless: "The artillerymen have received new self-propelled hardware that must be mastered in as short a time as possible. The drivers are working hard with the self-propelled artillery mounts. Firing practice, fire direction exercises, and special training exercises are under way."

Service by Tajik Construction Units Viewed

PM2208083591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[TASS correspondent S. Ergashev report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Solution Found"]

[Text] Dushanbe—A delegation from the office of the USSR deputy minister of defense for construction and billeting of troops and the republic military commissariat have formulated a joint approach to solving the problem of the drafting of and performance of military service by young men from Tajikistan assigned to military construction units in Moscow Military District. A central place is occupied by questions of creating favorable conditions for the performance of military service and the organization of daily life in the military collectives of the district's construction units, and for the observance of military regulations. The district pledged itself to maintain close contacts with the Tajik public and constantly to inform the republic military commissariat of the performance of their military service by Tajik servicemen.

It was also decided henceforth to effect the organized transfer of all servicemen-construction workers released into the reserve from their units to the places of their permanent residence.

Estonia

Pskov Airborne Division Begins Tallinn Withdrawal

OW2208035591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0224 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From "Express-Edition No 1"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Pskov airborne division which arrived in Tallinn in the morning of August 20 started to withdraw from the Estonian capital at about 23:30 on August 21, the Estonian Defense Department reported.

The division has stretched over approximately 10 km. It is expected to leave Estonia's territory in the afternoon of August 22. The column has been escorted by a car of the Estonian traffic police.

Troops Leave Television Tower

LD2208070591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0620 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Tallinn, 22 Aug (TASS)—Late last night the military column that had entered the Estonian capital on 20 August began moving in the direction of the Tartu Highway to travel on to Pskov Oblast where it is permanently stationed, ETA agency reports. As you know, early in the morning of 21 August, servicemen occupied the Tallinn television tower, as a result of which Estonian and central television transmissions were interrupted. The troops left the television tower at 1900 on 21 August.

Situation 'Getting Back to Normal'

LD2208092291 Moscow TASS in English 0855 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn August 22 TASS—Life in the Estonian capital Tallinn is getting back to normal.

The republican radio this morning announced that contingency food stocked up over the past few days, in case the government compound comes under attack, will now be distributed among pensioners and large families for free.

After the troop withdrawal, which began at 2150 local time on August 21, barricades surrounding the government buildings, parliament, and radio and television stations are also being dismantled.

Heavy lorries loaded with sand and ferro-concrete slabs, used to block approaches to these buildings, are leaving.

Estonian radio and television resumed full operations two hours before the start of the troop pull-out.

There were fortunately no clashes or casualties in Estonia during the attempted coup.

'Vremya' Reports Situation

LD2108224491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Video report from Tallinn by correspondent H. Lenke—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] I am filming this report near the Tallinn television center, which is still surrounded by powerful barricades. This morning at 0400, soldiers took over the television tower and both local and all-Union television transmitters were switched off. Moscow programs resumed at 1500, local ones in the evening. Estonian radio did not interrupt its programs at all and the Republic's population was constantly up to date on events in Moscow and other regions of the USSR. [video shows soldiers on streets in tanks near TV building, and barricades]

Yesterday at midnight, the session of the Republic's Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on restoring Estonian state independence which was, as official documents say, lost in 1940. [video shows deputies clapping and cheering in parliament]

The military subunits that entered Tallinn yesterday afternoon are on the whole in the city's barracks, as before, and are behaving with restraint on the streets. The city's leadership has met Army representatives several times. There have been no conflicts observed either at the TV tower or on Tallinn's streets between soldiers and the city's inhabitants. I am filming this report in Tallinn at 1830 and at this time, order in the city is being controlled by local authorities. [video shows tanks rolling through countryside, man in Army uniform talking to a crowd, and soldiers with their equipment]

Tallinn Garrison Command Addresses Population

LD2108152191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1100 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] The command of the units in the Tallinn garrison has addressed the population of Estonia explaining its tasks and intentions so as to curb the spread of rumors. The address says the units are subordinated to their top command and through it to the State Committee for the State of Emergency. All orders of the Committee and of the USSR Defense Ministry are aimed at safeguarding law and order within the state and do not in any way restrict people's rights as citizens or their political rights and do not hamper their work or normal life. Servicemen of the Soviet Army have received a categorical order not to be the first to use arms against the population. Soldiers and officers have promised to display their cool and respect for the civilian population. On their part, they wish to see an understanding of their aims as well as sensibility, and a refraining from provocations and incidents.

This was stated in the address of the command of the units of Tallinn garrison to the Estonian population.

Reportage on Reaction to Independence Declaration

Russia Recognizes Independence

OW2108171791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Foreign Ministry representative Oleg Popovich has notified the Estonian Foreign Ministry that Russia recognizes the independence of Estonia. The announcement was made in Tallinn.

The two sides will exchange appropriate documents shortly.

'Russian Faction' Protests

LD2208001991 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT 21 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn August 21 TASS—Deputies from the Estonian Supreme Soviet, who make the so-called Russian faction in the parliament, addressed the Republic's residents with an open letter today.

The letter says, in particular, that the adopted by the Estonian parliament resolution "On the State Independence of Estonia" had been passed in the parliament in a unilateral way, without taking into account the opinion of several deputy groups and a considerable part of the Republic's population.

Unilateral actions of initiators of the resolution, which actually declared an independent Estonian state, forced the authors of the open letter to refuse from participation in voting on the state independence of Estonia.

"That does not mean that we are against the Estonian people's striving for independence of Estonia. But we understand that the building of future Estonia should be based on granting to all residents of the Republic conditions worthy of a human being and providing for the actual equality of all Estonian residents," the letter says.

Minister on Expectations From Finland

LD2108125891 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 0900 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Endel Lippmaa, Estonian Minister in charge of relations with the East, is expecting mutual understanding from Finland for Estonia, which has declared itself independent. However the time to recognize the independent Estonia may not be ripe yet, Lippmaa believes. Our reporter, Jaana Kanninen, met Lippmaa this morning.

[Kanninen] Minister Lippmaa arrived in Finland last night. He emphasizes that he is in Finland for scientific and not political reasons. Minister Lippmaa is a physicist and is beginning cooperation with the University of Helsinki on radiation detectors, but he participated in composing Estonia's declaration of independence last night. Regarding the importance of the declaration, Lippmaa says that the declaration simply confirms what was decided earlier. Now it is time to end the transition period and start life as a fully independent state. What does Estonia, which has declared itself independent, expect from Finland?

[Begin Lippmaa recording in English fading into superimposed report in Finnish by Kanninen] I don't expect much more than mutual understanding. Of course, if everything goes according to plan we need the recognition of those countries with which we are in cooperation. But that will take time. Both our countries, both Estonia and Finland, must be able to cooperate with the leadership of the Soviet Union, whoever is in the leadership. The problem at the moment is that no one knows who is in the leadership of the Soviet Union. Well, now we are an independent state under occupation. Occupation is illegal, it cannot change the continuity of Estonia as a state. To reach a civilized solution is very important also for Finland. There are a lot of forces in the Soviet Union which do not regard Finland as part of Scandinavia but as part of the Baltic countries.[end recording]

[Kanninen] When I asked Minister Lippmaa whether Estonia has the whole support of the Russian Republic, he refers to the cooperation agreement signed at the beginning of the year in which Russia and Estonia promise to support each others' fight for independence. The question of whether Russia knew about last night's independence declaration is answered by Lippmaa as follows: Let us answer it a little later.

Meri: Government Still Rejects Union Treaty

LD2108204891 Hamburg DPA in German 1959 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Cologne (DPA)—The Baltic Republic of Estonia continues to reject the new Soviet Union treaty. On the [television] program "ARD-Brennpunkt," Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri said this evening in response to a question that even with the latest developments in Moscow, there was no way Estonia wanted to join the Union. They were very pleased to have declared Estonian independence. As an independent Republic, Estonia intends to restore its broken off diplomatic relations with the states of Western Europe and the United States.

Work Collectives Support Emergency Committee

LD2108172391 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0925 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] In a brief interview to the Baltic News Service, Igor Shepelevich, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic United Council of Work Collectives, said that his organization as well as the Council of Directors adopted a statement the day before yesterday which gives complete support to the the establishment of

the State Committee for the State of Emergency, and which appeals to work collectives to preserve discipline and to follow orders of the given committee.

Commenting on today's two-hour political warning strike, Igor Shepelevich said they have experience of striking and that he knows how quickly the strike will end.

Mentioning yesterday's Republic of Estonia Supreme Council resolution on Estonia's state independence, Shepelevich said: "Wait for news to arrive from northeast Estonia."

Foreign Minister Interviewed on State of Emergency

LD2108113991 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Interview with Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri in Helsinki by correspondent Peter Snow in London on 19 August; from the "Newsnight" program—recorded]

[Text] [Snow] What I believe, Mr. Meri, that the journalist in Tallinn was going to tell us, was that there were reports from Latvia, your neighbor, of killings there by Soviet troops. What do you make of that? [interview with journalist from Tallinn not received due to technical difficulties; Snow continues with Meri interview]

[Meri] We have been discussing, during this night, if they will use force. It was, I think Mr. (Yurnov) in New York who told that they will not use force. I am not so convinced, because they have been using force during the last seven or eight months in the three Baltic states. So, you see, it was our conviction that the equilibrium in the Soviet Union will not last very long, and we were looking, for the last six months, desperately, for a certain Western sympathy which would give a chance, more, a push, more, to the democratic part of this society.

[Snow] You do hear tonight that the British Government and the American Government are suspending aid to the Soviet Union. Do you welcome at least that?

[Meri] Yes, of course. Of course. You see, those steps, exactly as several steps made by Mr. Gorbachev, are fatally late. I would have preferred to see those steps made already, lets say in December, in January, and so on. But, let's not speak about things which cannot be redone. Let's speak about the present and the future. I am quite convinced that the political development in Eastern Europe has gone beyond a certain point. You can never go back in time, especially if a people, which has been under a totalitarian suppression for, in the case of Russia, for 70 years, in the case of the Republic of Estonia, for nearly 45 years, has declared that, it is in the case of the Baltic republics, that we are going to restore our independence. I am afraid that things are escalating in Riga, but we have the same news that a column of Soviet troops have been crossing the southeast border of Estonia. Estonia is a rather small country, so that they will be approaching, let's say in three to four hours, the capital town of Estonia, which is Tallinn.

[Snow] What is going to be the Estonian people's action that they will take, if this really is a Soviet advance on Tallinn?

[Meri] I have here, before me, a declaration which has been adopted on Monday. A declaration by the Estonian Government that it supports the appeals made by Boris Yeltsin, the president of Russia, that the governments of all the nations of the world to actively express their condemnation of the military coup d'etat in the USSR, and to support, in every way, the restoration of the legal government of the USSR. And, my government declares it shall unswervingly adhere to the laws presently in force in the territory of Estonia; that is, the laws of the Republic of Estonia, and the decisions of its Supreme Council and government.

Latvia

Army To Leave Riga; No Assurance on OMON

LD2108231191 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Excerpts] At a Latvian Popular Front mass meeting held today outside the Supreme Council, First Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council Dainis Ivans announced that after an hour of negotiations with Baltic Military District Commander Fedor Kuzmin, an agreement was reached to withdraw Soviet military personnel amassed in Riga following the attempted coup in the Soviet Union on Monday.

Ivans reported that Kuzmin promised that all Army troops would be withdrawn from Riga, although not from Latvia, but that the Baltic Military District commander declined to take any responsibility for the actions of OMON [special purpose militia detachment], the Soviet Interior Ministry special forces commonly known as the black berets who have figured predominantly in the events of the last several days.

Soviet troops are gradually being withdrawn from Riga, including from the key installations which have been under occupation for the last several days. Soviet military personnel were evacuated today from the buildings of Latvia: television, the Latvian Popular Front, and our radio studio where at 8:30 this evening 27 Soviet soldiers and four officers evacuated the buildings amid cheers from the crowds gathered outside. [passage omitted].

Currently the situation in the center of Riga is calm following this day, which began with the fear that the Supreme Council was about to be stormed and ended with the withdrawal of military forces from the Latvian capital.

No heavy concentration of military equipment or personnel is observable in Riga, and most city residents are at home watching Latvian television which is currently

broadcasting from outside of Riga as its main studios are under technical disrepair following their two-day occupation.

The unsuccessful Soviet coup has left three dead in Latvia, three people severely injured and dozens beaten [illegible]. But tonight in Riga the mood is hopeful and the [illegible]rries following Monday morning's events in Moscow [illegible]d their repercussions here in Latvia have to a great [illegible]gree been alleviated.

Supreme Council Calls For Voluntary Surrender

LD2208084291 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0506 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] As we have already informed you, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia has adopted a statement. Let us remind you again of the contents of this statement:

During the violent overthrow of the state in the period from 20 to 22 August this year, a series of crimes was committed, some for which criminal proceedings have already been instituted. Involved in the commission of the crimes was the USSR Interior Ministry's special militia task force deployed in Latvia. The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia calls upon the special purpose militia detachment combatants who took part in violent acts to voluntarily report to the Procuracy of the Republic of Latvia. Voluntary reporting will be regarded as a mitigating circumstance.

TASS Reports Independence Declaration

LD2208095491 Moscow TASS in English 0928 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaitsev]

[Text] Riga August 22 TASS—The situation in the Latvian capital is normalising after three days of tension.

On Wednesday evening, paratroops left the republican television and radio buildings. Broadcasts were immediately resumed. Military equipment has been removed from streets. Telephone communications resumed. Barricades still remain around the Latvian parliament building, but the parliament continues to work.

On Wednesday, the parliament passed the constitutional law on the status of the Latvian Republic. According to the law, "Latvia is an independent democratic Republic, in which sovereign power belongs to people of Latvia and whose status is determined by the Constitution of the Latvian Republic, dated February 15, 1922".

The law reads that "before occupation and annexation end and the Seim is convened," "the Latvian parliament exercises all the supreme state power in the Latvian Republic. Only laws and resolutions by its supreme bodies of state power and management are in effect on the Latvian Republic's territory."

The declaration restoring the Latvian Republic's state independence dated May 4, 1990, established a transitional period for restoring Latvia's state power. The parliament has decided that the transitional period is over.

Internal Affairs Minister Replaced

LD2108184891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1130 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] One more piece of news: At the beginning of the news, I expressed surprise at the new minister of internal affairs, or more precisely, the acting minister. We have received information in this connection. As the government information service reported to a Baltic News Service correspondent, in connection with the occupation of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Latvia, and with the situation that has arisen in the Republic, Aloizs Vaznis, minister of internal affairs of Latvia, and his first deputy, Zenons Indrikovs, are not able to carry out the official duties entrusted to them.

Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia, has authorized Peteris [name indistinct], head of the Police Department of the Republic of Latvia, to direct the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Zenons Indrikovs has reported that neither he nor Vaznis, the minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Latvia, in connection with an order by Baltic Military District head Fedor Kuzmin, are being allowed into the building of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Deputy Chairman of TV, Radio Dies From Injuries

OW2108215891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] BALTFAX quotes the Latvian permanent mission in Moscow as saying that the deputy chairman of the Latvian committee for television and radio broadcasting Juris Bekeris, injured when the committee's building was stormed by paratroopers and special police on August 20, has died of wounds in hospital.

Godmanis Issues General Strike Statement

LD2108152391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia announces that the inhabitants' general strike which began this morning remains in force. However, I will name those institutions that have to work. Mr. Godmanis has said that they must be the institutions of state power and administration, local governments, banks, legal defense institutions, energy and medicine, communications, communal organizations', workers, (?including) transport, by which is meant transport supplying necessities to the inhabitants. Also not taking part in the

strike are harvest-gatherers, and those workers who serve all the important establishment whose functioning cannot be stopped.

Supreme Council Deputy Views Crisis Situation

LD2108174491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1030 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy Mavriks Vulfsons, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council Foreign Affairs Committee, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Vulfsons] I would like to examine some aspects of the present situation. First, a few words about what we are discussing at present at the Supreme Council. [passage omitted]

In the course of the discussion the central question has emerged, namely, the question of the present situation in our Republic, the specific situation in our Republic. During the last few hours we have lost three people who have been killed. Three people, three people have been wounded, and many have been beaten up, especially at the time of invasion of the radio house, where shooting in all directions took place. People suffered who were simply in the vicinity, among them a boy. We have decided that a working group should be quickly formed to formulate the demands we will submit to the junta committee, if at all possible to Colonel-General Kuzmin himself. One matter is quite clear—all the arbitrariness and violence taking place in the Republic—the occupation of many buildings, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the telephone exchange, the television, the radio, the radio house—is the ultimate arbitrariness.

The other line of arbitrariness is that the access roads to Riga are being blocked. In Riga today, the inhabitants are nervous and all the shops are being bought up. This blockade places Riga's people in a completely critical situation. Who will assume responsibility for this?

Therefore a demand could be as follows: Either immediately all these buildings, which the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] and the assault troops have occupied, are freed, the access roads to Riga be opened, or we will be compelled to proclaim a general strike. We no longer have any other way. So, this is the situation. [passage omitted]

For the time being our parliament is operating. For the time being our government is operating, with the uncertainty and insecurity that the representatives of this junta here in the Republic of Latvia are also experiencing.

[Correspondent] Mr. Vulfsons, may I ask three questions, one about Latvia, one about the Union, and one on an international scale? The first is on Latvia, a short one. Who at present, if it is possible to say unambiguously, controls the situation in the Republic?

[Vulfsons] It is being controlled more, of course, by military troops, because if we had at our disposal such weapons as they have, then we would talk somewhat differently. We are made strong by our will, by political support we receive from the inhabitants, but they are strong with violence, entirely uncontrolled action, uncontrollable action.

[Correspondent] The second question is on a kind of a Union scale.

[Vulfsons] Yes.

[Correspondent] Will the deputies of Latvia, more accurately, from Latvia, go to Moscow? What could be done there?

[Vulfsons] Perhaps we will go, but this has not yet been decided. Our mood is such, if it really is possible to assist in deciding on the question of the present leadership's illegal character, and if our votes have any significance, or our speeches influence the situation, then we will certainly go.

[Correspondent] There is still the third question on an international aspect. You are an experienced foreign affairs specialist. Could the international, more precisely the Western countries', possible economic and political pressure upon this new junta, let us put it like that, could it drive all the soldiers back into the barracks?

[Vulfsons] No. I want to say this right away. If we talk about economic pressure, by no means. Because, you have to understand, this is only what a specialist understands, if the Americans discontinue assistance to the value of 800 million dollars, if the Americans now postpone granting most-favored-nation trading status—this is understood only by specialists, a rank-and-file person, an ordinary soldier does not understand this, does not understand that England has discontinued her assistance to the value of 80 million dollars, that today the representatives of the European Community will also discuss discontinuation of one-half billion, excuse me please, yes, one-half billion dollars, that is, 500 million dollars, for the Soviet Union. I do not think that this could influence them.

But what can be an influence is political pressure. If this political pressure will express itself so that the Union, so ordinary people will begin to feel that growing isolation and the possibility that the relations between the West and the East may completely change, that again the Cold War may begin with all of its attributes, then this might influence, if not quite the moods of the soldiers, but certainly the mood of the younger officers and of the officership. [passage omitted]

Lithuania

Vagnorius Greets Gorbachev on Return to Power

OW2208033091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0224 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From "Express-Edition No 1"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The prime minister of Lithuania, Mr. Gedimanas Vagnorius, has expressed his profound satisfaction that Mikhail Gorbachev is back in charge as president of the USSR. In his telegram to Mr. Gorbachev he said "the attempted coup in the USSR aroused our grave concern because it presented a real threat to democratic processes in the USSR. We hope that the victory of the progressive forces and your personal stand will help normalise relations between Lithuania and the USSR and speed up constructive interstate negotiations beteen the USSR and the Lithuanian republic."

Government Hands OMON to Interior Ministry

OW2208035991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0224 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From "Express-Edition No 1"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Prime Minister of Lithuania Mr. Gedimanas Vagnorius has said in a televised address that his government decided to place the Republic's Interior Ministry in charge of an OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] unit located in Vilnius.

In his words, this decision is a temporary one and will be in force until the USSR "solved the problem presented by this unit". The OMON members were ordered not to leave their base from August 21, 22:30, the unit's commander, Mr. Makutinovich, being personally responsible for complying with the order. Mr. Vagnorius assured the OMON members that they would face no threat so long as they remained at their base.

The general staff of the Soviet Armed Forces had been advised of the decision.

The Lithuanian prime minister stressed that his government was maintaining close contact with commanders of Soviet troops in Vilnius and was satisfied with "their reasonable and responsible position".

"I know there are rumours of forthcoming reprisals against Communist party members. Everybody may sleep without fear", Mr. Vagnorius assured.

TASS Report

LD2208113891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0918 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By Kazis Ustsila]

[Excerpt] Vilnius, 22 Aug (TASS)—Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius has issued an instruction to provisionally hand over the operational leadership of the special purpose military detachments [OMON] of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs who are stationed in the republic to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Lithuanian Republic.

In an instruction circulated here today, the reason for this decision is given as "the situation that has developed in the Lithuanian Republic and the uncertain subordination of the OMON of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs." It follows from the document that under the operational leadership of the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs, the detachment must remain until such time as the government of the Soviet Union determines its subordination.

The order instructs the command of the OMON of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, which is stationed in Lithuania, "to unconditionally fulfill the instructions of the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Lithuanian Republic," and also "to ensure that no member of the OMON leaves the station location of this detachment until a separate instruction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Lithuanian Republic is issued." [passage omitted]

Reportage on Soviet Military Withdrawal

Withdrawal From Communications Units

LD2108231591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] ELTA was informed by the Lithuanian Ministry of Communications that on 21 August, between 1700 and 1730, servicemen withdrew from all the communications installations they had occupied since the beginning of the week. They withdrew from the Kaunas radio and television installations, the radio stations in Marijampole, Alytus, Siauliai, Panevezys and Viesintai, the building of the Panevezys telephone exchange and the Vilnius State Telephone and Telegraph Center. The staff were called by the radio to return to work. At 1800 communications engineers were checking the equipment and preparing it for operation.

Vilnius TV Center Vacated

OW2108205391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1955 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a press briefing on the evening of 21st August in the Lithuanian Parliament the press attache of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, Audrius Ajubalis, announced that news had been received that the Army had left the Television Centre in Vilnius that it has occupied since 13th January. In this connection leaders

of the home defence department, the prosecutor's office and Lithuanian human rights organisations have been to the TV building.

TASS Reports Departure

LD2108224191 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 21 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondents Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius August 22 TASS—On Wednesday evening a protocol was signed on the return of the Kaunas TV centre to its real owners. The centre was taken by the military two days ago.

Specialists examined the centre and found that the major part of the equipment is in a working condition.

Armored vehicles have been removed from the Vilnius inter-city telephone station. The staff can now perform their regular job.

The military are also leaving other objects occupied during the two days, including TV and radio transmitting stations in Panevezis, Siauliai, Mariiampol and Alitus.

Troops Withdraw From TV Tower

LD2208154591 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius August 22 TASS—Soviet Interior Ministry troops left a TV and Radio building in Vilnius an hour ago. The building was occupied on the night of January 13, 1991 during tragic events in Vilnius.

All services were immediately banned except those controlled by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

Lithuanian Prime Minister Gedeminas Vagnoryus has set up a commission to make inventory of the TV and radio equipment and decide on its exploitation fitness.

The commission is headed by Aleksandras Abishala, a minister without portfolio.

Republic Takes Over All Enterprises

LD2108195691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] By an ordinance of Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, all enterprises in Lithuania's territory are being transferred to the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian republic and come under its laws. This is reported by the Radio of Independent Lithuania.

Vilnius Garrison Command Orders Disarming Units

OW2108195391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The command of the Vilnius military garrison has issued an order saying that all units of the protection of the land department and Lithuanian shooting union must be disarmed by 12:00 August 22.

The order also bans the "Baltic Way" action scheduled for August 23, marking an anniversary of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact. The "Baltic Way" action is usually accompanied by camp-fires from Vilnius to Tallinn symbolizing the common interests of the Baltic peoples.

The Lithuanian parliament's leader Lansdbergis has said that the aforesaid forces are not armed ones. Those of their members who guard strategic government facilities are the sole exception.

Further on Disarmament Order

LD2208005691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Military commanders have been expressing their pretensions to municipal governments in various cities, stating that they were the newly appointed city commanders.

There were no categorical ultimatums by the military with the exception of today's incident. At approximately 1400—while the Kremlin junta was on the verge of fleeing Moscow—Colonel Belous, commander of the garrison stationed in Vilnius, paid a visit to Vytautas Landsbergis and handed him a demand from Lieutenant General Ovcherov, deputy commander of the Baltic Military District, to disarm the Land Defense Department, the Volunteer Land Defense Service, and the Riflemen's Association members by midday tomorrow. Moreover, he also demanded the renouncement of the planned activities in connection with the Black Ribbon Day, scheduled for the day after tomorrow.

According to a Lithuanian radio report, Vytautas Landsbergis explained to Colonel Belous that the only individuals in these organizations bearing arms are those charged with guarding vital state buildings.

Vytautas Landsbergis urged the military to give a critical appraisal of the unconstitutional actions of a small bunch of putschists, and to express the conviction that everything will be clarified in Moscow very soon and urged them not to resort to irreparable actions prior to that time.

Approximately an hour later—about 1500, when the news of the junta's escape from Moscow reached Lithuania—a directive from the chairman of the Lithuanian parliament was announced with lightning speed on Lithuanian television. [passage omitted on previously filed material]

Landsbergis Gives Interior Ministry Instructions

OW2108224791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1955 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian parliament's leader Vytautas Landsbergis has on behalf of the Lithuanian parliament asked the commander of the USSR Interior Ministry troops deployed in Vilnius, Colonel N. Mironenko, to comply with a number of requirements, such as:

- To instruct the special police force to avoid leaving its base in order to rule out conflicts;

- To order all of his subordinates to leave the building of the Lithuanian radio and television station and to hand them over to the Lithuanian Interior Ministry;

- To return all weapons taken from store-houses and from officials or compensate for these losses.

The statement drew Colonel Mironenko's attention to the fact that he was responsible personally for any unlawful actions by the special police or any further damage to the property of the Lithuanian Republic.

Colonel Mironenko was told to contact at once General Director S. Valiulis, of Lithuania's radio and television seized on January 13, who would "already now" (August 21 - BF [BALTFAX]) appoint officials to guard and revise the remaining assets.

Landsbergis asked Mironenko to have an early meeting with him in the building of the Lithuanian parliament.

Vilnius, Party Reactions to Events Cited

PM2108152791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[By Nikolay Lashkevich under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Events in Lithuania"]

[Text] Vilnius—An emergency republic Supreme Soviet session drew to a close during the night.

Despite the introduction of a state of emergency regime in Lithuania things were relatively peaceful last night.

It was at around 0100 hours this morning that the emergency republic Supreme Soviet session ended. Several documents were adopted at the session, among which the resolution on ratifying the treaty between Russia and Lithuania occupies the most important place. V. Landsbergis signed an appeal to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and Russian President B. Yeltsin. The appeal describes events in Moscow as an attempt to introduce a military dictatorship and expresses solidarity with progressive forces in Russia.

Lithuania is prepared for acts of civil disobedience and a general political strike, but will effect these plans only in the event that important state buildings are seized by force.

In his radio speech, Prime Minister G. Vagnorius stated: "If a military dictatorship is introduced it will be answerable for its actions. If military representatives are appointed—well, let them try and govern the republic, but they themselves will have to bear full responsibility for the consequences as we do not intend to renounce power yet and will exercise our functions to the end."

V. Landsbergis issued a special appeal to Russians living in Lithuania. He described the actions of those who removed the USSR president as anti-constitutional even if "they were treating Lithuania as a republic which, in their opinion, is subject to USSR law."

So what is the position regarding events going on in the Lithuanian Communist Party? As Ideology Department Chief J. Jermalavicius told IZVESTIYA's correspondent, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has not adopted a single official document so far. In his personal opinion, the attempt by the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] to get out of the crisis in the country provides an opportunity for continuing democratic reforms, and this can only be welcomed. "I think that they understand the responsibility they are assuming for the fate of the Soviet socialist fatherland," J. Jermalavicius stressed.

Soldiers Involved in Vilnius Shooting Incident

LD2108230591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] In spite of the previously mentioned warning addressed to the military stationed in Vilnius, they have carried out a provocation late this evening outside the parliament building. Having arrived by car and having passed the Land Defense Department post, which controls the entrance to the parliament area, the soldiers began shooting. One of them has been wounded and apprehended.

According to unconfirmed reports, two Land Defense Department officials have also been wounded.

The attackers, numbering four or five, escaped in their vehicle and have hidden in the city; however, one of them did not manage to do that, and is now hiding in the vicinity of the parliament; he is armed, unfortunately.

More detailed information will be provided tomorrow.

Civilian Killed

LD2208091791 Moscow TASS in English 0827 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius Aug 22 TASS—One civilian was killed and two wounded during a shooting incident near the Lithuanian parliament at about 2300 on Wednesday, Lithuanian Prosecutor General Arturas Paulauskas told independent Lithuanian television today.

The Vilnius Garrison military commandant, Colonel Grigoriy Belous, told TASS that servicemen from a Soviet Interior Ministry division deployed in Vilnius were involved in the incident. He said a servicemen and two officers were also wounded and brought to hospital.

An orderly officer told TASS that the division command is attending a conference, where the incident is being discussed.

On Wednesday evening, a protocol was signed for the return of the Kaunas television centre, seized by the army on Tuesday, to its owners. Earlier, specialists had examined the centre and admitted that the bulk of the equipment is in good working order.

Armoured personnel carriers have left the Vilnius telephone station. Station employees have been invited to resume their work.

Army units are also leaving other facilities seized over the past two days, including television and radio relay stations in Panevezys, Siauliai, Marijampole and Alytus.

Defense Department Head Briefs Supreme Council

OW2208114391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1034 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The general director of the home defense office of Lithuania, Audrius Butkevicius, told a briefing in the parliament on Thursday that the situation in the Republic "was no less dangerous than it was a few days ago." He said that the military was moving "away from open action to take on a subversive and terrorist role."

Mr. Butkevicius gave details of the incident which took place last night in Vilnius near the parliament building.

On August 21 at 2245 hours shots were exchanged between special branch forces and workers of the Lithuanian home defense office.

According to Mr. Butkevicius, as a result of the firing one of the special branch officers had been slightly injured and arrested. The other three, two of which were also injured, managed to escape. Mr. Butkevicius went on to say that three members of his office had been injured, one of whom, Arturas Sabalaukskas, had later died of his injuries.

Mr. Audrius Azhubalis, the Lithuanian Government official responsible for the press, also took part in the briefing and said that today (Thursday) at 0930 hours a telephone conversation took place between the head of the Lithuanian parliament, Vitautas Landsbergis, the Estonian premier, Gedimanas Vagnorius, and the head of the General Staff of Soviet Armed Forces, General Moiseyev. During this conversation Mr. Landsbergis demanded that General Moiseyev issue an order to liberate all occupied buildings on Lithuanian territory. The general said that he had had a conversation on this subject with the Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev, who spoke out in favor of the withdrawal of soldiers from state buildings in Lithuania.

Mr. Azhubalis said that at the moment (Thursday morning) Mr. Landsbergis had seen the local commander of Soviet Interior Ministry troops, Mironenko at the latter's request. No details of the meeting were given.

Mr. Azhuabalis also said that the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania had received a letter from President Havel of Czechoslovakia. The president informed the Lithuanian leadership that Czechoslovakia had prepared a protocol on the setting up of an office of information and interests of Lithuania in Prague.

He suggested that the document could be signed on September 20 during the visit to Prague of the Lithuanian foreign minister, Mr. Saudargas.

Situation Still 'Dangerous'

LD2208135791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Although one-half of the Soviet Union has failed [as heard], the situation in Lithuania continues to be dangerous, noted Audrius Butkevicius, general director of the National Defense Department, at this morning's briefing at the Supreme Council building.

The repressive forces that have carried out the coup continue to enjoy strong support and are resorting to diversionary actions.

This is attested by last night's special purpose militia detachment provocation outside the Lithuanian Supreme Council building.

One Land Defense Department official was killed. Each side has two people injured.

Dainis Ivans: Situation 'Still Fairly Grave'

OW2208155991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia, Dainis Ivans, has told our correspondent that the situation in the Republic has changed for the better, but is still fairly grave.

He said that the leader of the local putschists, General Kuzmin, commander-in-chief of the Baltic Military District, had ordered the withdrawal of troops from Riga in conformity with the decision of the legitimate authorities. "But the OMON [special purpose militia unit]

terrorist gang in Riga is still uncontrolled," he said. He emphasised that yesterday the Riga OMON branch attempted to seize the building of the Latvian parliament.

Ivans believes that the Riga branch of OMON causes the greatest problems. It was for this reason that the Latvian Government asked General Kuzmin to blockade the base of the branch, but the general refused.

Ivans said that police forces from all parts of Latvia were presently arriving in Riga in order to reinforce the defence of the parliament buiing. The Prosecutor General's Office of Latvia will shortly institute criminal proceedings against particular members of the Riga branch of OMON amongst others.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of Latvia has called upon them to give themselves up, thus guaranteeing themselves a more lenient hearing.

Apart from that, the Riga OMON branch will soon be presented with an ultimatum demanding that its members hand in their weapons by a certain date.

Ivans described the OMON problem as a very complicated one, for "they are people who have nothing to lose and are ready to kill hundreds of people."

According to Ivans, the Communist Party of Latvia will soon be banned. Its leaders will be prosecuted as political criminals. The whereabouts of the first secretary of the party's Central Committee, Alfreds Rubiks, are still unknown, but there have been unconfirmed reports that he has left for Moscow.

The Equality parliamentary group, which supported the putschists, may also be prosecuted.

Ivans has also said that Anatolijs Gorbunovs is going to speak to Mikhail Gorbachev later today on the forming of institutes ensuring the sovereignty of Latvia.

Sajudis Official Says Danger 'Not Passed Yet'

LD2208042191

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network at 1552 GMT on 21 August carries a one-minute item on Juozas Tumelis, chairman of the Sajudis Seimas Council, addressing the people of Lithuania, urging them to "be the witnesses of their failure and not those who incite passions. History must be on our side." Asked if the people should continue to protect the parliament building, Juozas Tumelis says: "The danger to Lithuania has not passed yet. We do not know what may happen today or tomorrow." He says all the plans that had been envisaged must be implemented. He calls upon the people to record everything in order that records of the putsch be preserved.

Vagnorius Greets Estonian, Latvian Independence

OW2208034591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0224 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From "Express-Edition No 1"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Prime Minister of Lithuania Gedimanas Vagnorius has congratulated his Estonian and Latvian counterparts, Mr. Edgar Savisaar and Mr. Ivars Godmanis, on the restoration of their respective republics' independence.

The Estonian parliament declared Estonia's statehood restored on August 20, and the Supreme Council of Latvia declared Latvia an independent republic on August 21.

"We believe that the sun of freedom will at last rise over the three Baltic republics, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania", Mr. Vagnorius' messages say.

Vice President Seeks West's Recognition

LD2108180191 Berlin ADN in German 1210 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Luxembourg/Bonn (ADN)—As a response to the coup in the Soviet Union, Lithuanian Vice President Kazimieras Motieka has called for the immediate recognition under international law of the Baltic republics by the western states. The western governments should follow the example of Iceland, which has already recognized the independence of the Baltic republics, Motieka said today in a conversation with RTL Plus. Such a reaction from the West would not only help the three republics, but also Gorbachev.

Motieka is new in the federal republic. He has postponed his return to Lithuania at the request of Lithuanian President Landsbergis in order to be able to set up a government in exile in the federal republic if an emergency arises.

Government To Meet Economic Obligations to Russia

OW2208051591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0110 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania has certain obligations towards Russia, including some of an economic nature following the

ratification of a a bilateral economic agreement, parliamentary press official Audryus Ajubalis told correspondents. He called on all local plants and companies to comply strictly with contract terms not to exacerbate Russia's economic chaos.

Passes to Central Television Declared Invalid

LD2008120991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] A BALTFAX correspondent called us this morning from Moscow and reported that all official passes to Moscow central television have been declared invalid. Temporary passes are being issued to staff members, but only to some staff members.

A short while ago I spoke to the editor-in-chief of the newspaper "TRIBUNA", [name indistinct]. This newspaper is published in Sverdlovsk. I asked what the mood was like there. Today all the newspapers came out in Sverdlovsk. [words indistinct] decrees of Boris Yeltsin are published in them. The CPSU oblast committee held a meeting last night, but there are no [words indistinct] and the Sverdlovsk city authorities give full support to the legal government of Russia. Yeltsin's decrees are being printed and disseminated among the people at various places.

Moscow TV Carries Supreme Soviet Session 21 Aug

LD2108131791

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian at 1238 GMT on 21 August was intercepted in progress carrying a recorded relay from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet session in Moscow. Khasbulatov is seen seated on the platform and addressing the deputies.

At 1239 GMT Khasbulatov begins to discuss the reasons for the current situation in the USSR and the pressures which had an effect on and united "reactionary circles."

At 1242 GMT he says serious decisions have to be made on this matter, such as a special law approving the decrees adopted by Boris Yeltsin. This would unite us in fighting against dictatorship, he says, adding that there should be no wavering. In fundamental issues we have to be united.

At 1244 GMT Khasbulatov speaks of the efforts which have been made to keep in contact with the leaders of other republics. Some republics acknowledge our position, he says, and some are taking the old line on USSR legislation.

At 1247 GMT a deputy speaks from the floor asking about whether or not there should be a direct relay of the proceedings and urges that a final decision on this should be made. Another deputy from Murmansk asks for a clear description of the positions taken up by republics. Khasbulatov says that the position of krays and oblasts must not be forgotten.

At 1249 GMT as Khasbulatov speaks, the video shows Yeltsin seated on the platform and behind him an electronic information board which bears the time: 1156.

At 1250 GMT a deputy speaks about the broadcasting of proceedings. He is followed by a Communist deputy speaking of the CPSU being in the dark about events, even though people on the streets are speaking of Communists being implicated in the coup. Another deputy asks why Russia did not state sooner that a state of emergency would not be introduced on Russian territory.

At 1254 GMT Khasbulatov responds to the previous speaker saying that by declaring the junta illegal, all of its decisions were simultaneously outlawed. He invites Yeltsin to the rostrum.

At 1255 GMT Yeltsin begins to speak of the dramatic events the country is living through. He speaks of the previous attempts to achieve an overthrow, reminding deputies of the warnings issued by Shevardnadze and of the positions taken up by Yazov and Pavlov, and the last attempt, when the President was in the Crimea. He describes this as an unconstitutional act. He speaks of the lack of information on Gorbachev's medical condition. He refers to Gorbachev's medical examination on 19 August which discovered he was in good shape. He speaks of the coup leaders as being rightwing to a man, and of an anticonstitutional plot.

At 1300 GMT Yeltsin reminds deputies of the development of events in which the coup was effected, and the relevant RSFSR decrees, such as on declaring the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] illegal, on the defense committee, on the transfer of USSR bodies including the army and the KGB to RSFSR jurisdiction. He speaks of the firm defense of the building of the RSFSR president and thanks Lebedev.

At 1306 GMT he reminds deputies of the thwarted signing of the Union treaty, and says that in the absence of communication with the USSR president, he had signed a document transfering all property on Russian territory to the jurisdiction of Russia. He says that having drawn up ultimatums, they were taken to Lukyanov. He says it is impossible to believe that Lukyanov knew nothing of the planned coup.

At 1310 GMT he thanks Muscovites for their decisive actions in the face of the armored personnel carriers and the tanks. He recounts how Kozyrev was sent to the U.N. He recounts calls from Bush, Mitterrand, Major, Havel, Zhelev, Mrs. Thatcher, and leaders of Union republics. He says that Bush and Mitterrand and others stated firmly that they condemned the anticonstitutional grouping and that they recognize the legitimate Russian leadership. He asked them in turn to demand the restoration of communications with Gorbachev. He says that efforts to contact Gorbachev have failed. He speaks of Kryuchkov's offer to fly him to see Gorbachev with certain guarantees and says that to do so he seeks the approval of deputies. They react loudly against this.

At 1317 GMT he says that the SCSE's days are numbered, that it should be disbanded and its members taken to court. Yeltsin ends his speech at this point and the deputies applaud loudly.

At 1318 GMT Russian Premier Silayev comes to the rostrum to speak. Until we know that Gorbachev is alive and well, he says, we will have to believe that he is not well. Silayev asks that he and Rutskoy be allowed to travel to see Gorbachev with medical experts together with foreign and domestic journalists. Yeltsin and Khasbulatov speak favorably of the proposal.

At 1319 GMT a Siberian deputy speaks of the unequivocal support of Siberians for Yeltsin's decrees. She speaks against the provocation of Kryuchkov's offer to fly Yeltsin to see Gorbachev. She reads an appeal from democratic communists to citizens and servicemen to remain loyal to the USSR and RSFSR presidents. Totalitarianism will not triumph, she declares.

At 1322 GMT deputies approve the proposal to send Silayev and Rutskoy to meet Gorbachev.

At 1323 GMT a deputy asks Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, and the Russian defense minister what measures have been taken to counter Kryuchkov's orders to seize the RSFSR Supreme Soviet building.

At 1325 GMT a deputy says he believes that the reaction provoked by the actions of the SCSE is such as to have shown them that they cannot win. He goes on to speak of the need for organizational decisions in the economic sphere.

At 1327 GMT Khasbulatov announces a break of 30 minutes.

At 1328 GMT the video shows a deputy speaking about the closure of Moscow's Echo radio station on the instructions of the KGB.

At 1329 GMT Khasbulatov urges deputies to allow the head of the Russian KGB Ivanenko, who is not in the hall, to get on with his professional duty. The KGB should feel at home here, Khasbulatov says.

At 1331 GMT Deputy Tikhomirov reminds deputies that the real protection of proceedings are the people standing outside and surrounding the building, and that some material provision should be made for them.

At 1332 GMT a young deputy asks to be included in the delegation to see Gorbachev.

At 1335 GMT Khasbulatov reads the names of deputies who have indicated that they wish to speak, including Bakatin.

At 1338 GMT a deputy suggests that Kozyrev and ambassadors of major powers should be sent along with the delegatioon to visit Gorbachev. Khasbulatov responds that Silayev, Rutskoy, and others should sort out the composition of the delegation—consisting of no more than ten people.

At 1340 GMT a Bryansk deputy speaks of the many phone calls he received before departing for Moscow from workers demanding the removal of the SCSE.

At 1342 GMT Deputy Manokhin from Novosibirsk speaks. He recounts his own eyewitness account of the military's first attempt at an attack on one of the barricades outside the Russian White House. He says the military, not the Muscovites, who attacked first and shots were fired. He asks for tents and buses for the people outside in the cold and rain. He appeals for cross-party unanimity in rejecting criminality, and says he believes it will be achieved.

At 1346 GMT a deputy speaks scathingly of the SCSE. He asks for approval for everything undertaken by Yeltsin and speaks of his courageous actions.

At 1350 GMT Deputy Sheynis speaks. He warns that the threat of a putsch is still far from over. It all depends on the loyalty of the army. Many soldiers say they respect the sovereignty of Russia, he claims, but they have taken the military oath and have their orders. Some officers have suggested a provision for soldiers to be obliged to follow alternative orders from authorized Supreme Soviet representatives, he says, adding that he hopes that the services of Moscow's Radio Echo will again be available. Blood was shed last night, he says, and we have a moral duty to honor the victims' memory. The state should bear the expenses and organize the funerals.

At 1354 GMT Deputy Zhigulin says the media are saying that the incident resulting in two deaths ensued from a provocation. He names himself and others as members of the "provocative" group, and explains the circumstances of the deaths. He claims that soldiers opened fire from a BMP armored vehicle using tracer fire without any provocation.

At 1358 GMT Deputy Klyuyev speaks emotionally in defense of people's deputies; provocations by the military should be stopped, he says, since they are carrying out criminal orders. He recounts various instances of servicemen behaving like beasts against civilians yesterday.

At 1402 GMT a deputy proposes from the floor to invite representatives from republican and international parliaments to visit our session.

At 1403 GMT Deputy Lyubimov takes the floor and describes the pre-coup situation as peaceful. The USSR law on state of emergency has been violated, he says, and I disagree with the Emergency Committee and its statements. They could have performed their functions without a coup. He goes on to say: I propose to continue the session until the situation is back to normal; to convene the USSR Federation Council; to adopt measures to avert a civil war. We must resist the state of emergency since it is illegal, he says. A poll should be held in the territories on their support for legal power and for our actions. Gorbachev should be brought here, there is no need to go to him since he is obviously in good health.

At 1410 GMT Bakatin takes the floor. He says: I heard about the accord that Kryuchkov should address the session and that he and Yeltsin should go to Crimea. I absolutely disagree with the Emergency Committee. We must fight against this illegality. We greatly respect the courageous actions of the Russian leadership and the Muscovites. While fighting illegality we must avert all attempts to unleash civil war. I have heard that there is a military order to withdraw, but it is still unconfirmed. I know for sure that on Sunday Gorbachev was absolutely healthy. He is in isolation now; he must be returned. It will be enough to send somebody. Primakov and myself are ready to fetch him. It is very important that Union deputies should understand their responsibility and condemn the illegal act.

At 1418 GMT USSR Fresident's aide Shakhnazarov takes the floor. He reads a statement expressing his disagreement with the methods of introducing a state of emergency, something that has given the opposite result,

and not stabilization at all. The East European countries are now trying to join NATO as soon as possible, to protect themselves. The goal of the coup was to prevent the signing of the Union treaty. Glasnost has been eliminated, and the situation with it is now worse than during the stagnation. The statement of the Emergency Committee is beyond criticism. I was in the Crimea at the time, and Gorbachev phoned me several times. We discussed the speech he was to make at the ceremony of signing the Union treaty, the last time we spoke, on 18 August, he was getting ready to go to Moscow. He said he was all right. We must tell those who organized these actions to stop, not to plunge the country into an abyss. The troops should return to barracks. Now extraordinary measures will be required to eliminate the consequences of the situation. Now indeed a committee should be set up to take upon itself the signing of the Union treaty, and Gorbachev and the republican presidents should be members of that committee.

At 1427 GMT Yeltsin announces that the members of the Emergency Committee have left for the Vnukovo Airport. Their intentions are not known. A proposal is made to Aeroflot and the Russian KGB to detain them in Vnukovo immediately. The deputies voted unanimously in favor of the proposal.

At 1430 GMT Yeltsin says that a number of oblast and kray soviets have decided to recognize the Emergency Committee. He asks for the right to remove them from power. The deputies applaud this, and the voting is three against, no abstentions, everybody else in favor. At this point Khasbulatov reads message of support from Polish President Walesa.

At 1432 GMT a deputy from Lipetsk asks who will take power in the oblasts which recognized the Emergency Committee. Yeltsin replies that the president should appoint new bodies. More proposals are offered from the floor and a deputy says he was arrested by KGB officials and proposes to start criminal proceedings against the KGB for this. An unidentified speaker from the floor says that according to the law they cannot investigate the KGB's actions. An argument follows about whether or not the KGB should be investigated.

At 1438 GMT Khasbulatov says there will be no lunch break since deputies are eager to carry on. A deputy from the floor says he made a report on an impending coup on 8 August but was unheeded.

At 1440 GMT Deputy Plotnikov says that if the Emergency Committee wishes to flee abroad they should be allowed to do so as this will stop bloodshed.

At 1441 GMT Deputy Gurevich reminds the session of a forgotten proposal by Yeltsin which was left without vote. Voting takes place, and the proposal is adopted.

At 1442 GMT a deputy proposes to vote on demanding that Lukyanov and Kryuchkov should attend the session. The vote is nine against, three abstentions. The proposal is adopted.

Khasbulatov says that Gosteleradio condemns illegal methods; the audience laughs. He reads a TASS report on the arrest of State Committee for the State of Emergency (SCSE) members on the way to airport.

At 1522 GMT Deputy Isakov takes the floor. The SCSE has validated the Constitution and I have consistently maintained so. Unfortunately, the media has distorted my views. At the same time, the coup was an attempt to find a way out of the crisis, something we have been doing and will have to do. Second, not only reactionaries but other forces were against Union treaty. It shows that the treaty has to be improved. A commissiuon should be set up to investigate the attempted coup, he concludes.

At 1528 GMT Deputy Kochkov warns against excessive optimism; we must be united. The Russian trade unions' position is full support of legal authority and presidential decrees. There is a shortage of information, especially in the provinces. This must be rectified, people should know what Russian authorities are doing. We are getting messages of support from foreign trade unions. Our main weapon is solidarity and joint actions.

At 1532 GMT Deputy Aksyuchits takes the floor. It is too early to relax, he says. Presidential decrees have turned out to be the strongest point of anti-coup actions. Muscovites showed miracles of courage in facing up to the military, especially Deputy Rumyantsev who stopped a column of APC's [Armoured Personnel Carriers]. There is a shortage of information. He makes some organizational remarks regarding acts of resistance. The CPSU should be declared illegal.

At 1538 GMT Deputy Mikhaylov from Kalmykia takes the floor. He comments on a clause in the Union treaty on the border issue. He added that the SCSE will bring the country to famine. Yesterday the European Community stopped aid to USSR as a result of the coup. The SCSE lied when it claimed that autonomies had agreed to the coup; we are against the SCSE. We will never follow the SCSE program.

At 1542 GMT Deputy Gurevich takes the floor. He, too, warns against euphoria. He speaks about mistakes committed by the Russian leadership, which was not prepared for emergency situations, like the coup. It is only through the conspirators' faults that we have escaped defeat. Our security measures are wanting, the Russian White House is not sufficiently protected. Our information is often muddled; we lack proper equipment. Soldiers of the divisions I visited did not know about the coup and the overthrow of the USSR president; this is intolerable. We must be better prepared for such extraordinary situations.

At 1549 GMT Deputy Boris Mikhaylovich Isayev takes the floor, trying to justify his behavior during the coup. He was worried about stability in the country and the alarming economic situation. He is still against strikes because they will worsen the economy. He does not support the SCSE, but was waiting for reports about the president's health.

At 1552 GMT Deputy Titkin from Tula Oblast takes the floor. He refers to Isayev and Isakov's speeches. We know your positions and they are quite consistent with your previous shameful behavior, he says, to applause. We must continue our work non-stop until we learn that the coup is over, at least for our safety.

At 1559 GMT Deputy Alekseyev speaks about mistakes that should be avoided in emergency situations: Better organization is required. We must work among troops and educate them. The session should continue and be turned, eventually, into a congress. The RSFSR president should decree the arrest of the criminal conspirators. A national guard should be set up to defend Russian authority.

At 1604 GMT Khasbulatov argues that one cannot live in anticipation of plots and says that the leadership was prompt in organizing defense. A deputy from the floor makes further remarks about poor communications with Russian leadership.

At 1607 GMT Deputy Basilashvili takes the floor on behalf of Leningrad culture figures and reads their joint statement in defense of democracy.

Deputy Lisin takes the floor on behalf of the Rossiya group of deputies. The Supreme Soviet should confirm the validity of the Constitution. The activity of SCSE should be halted immediately. Gorbachev should address the nation. A USSR congress should be convened, and a RSFSR congress, too, he says.

At 1613 GMT a deputy, a Moscow Soviet member, from the floor reads information on today's events regarding clashes at the White House last night: three killed, several injured. He makes proposals regarding the editorial commission. The commission approved.

At 1616 GMT Deputy Zakharov takes the floor to remark on the need for tougher measures against saboteurs of Supreme Soviet decisions, such as TV chief Kravchenko and Moscow Commandant Kalinin. He reads a draft proposal on setting up a Russian national guard.

At 1622 GMT Deputy Tarasov takes the floor to speak about organization of Supreme Soviet Presidium work. A National guard should be set up, he says.

At 1630 GMT a deputy speaks of the need to investigate the attempted coup and to change the law to allow servicemen not to obey orders leading to coups. Reforms should be implemented speedily.

At 1635 GMT Deputy Yugin says everything is not over yet; we must be on our guard. He announces that the session is being relayed now, and later a recording will be shown for the European part of Russia. The issue of Russian TV resuming broadcasts tomorrow has been almost solved. Russia's Radio could be heard in various regions today. TV and Radio facilities on Russian territory must be urgently nationalized. He proposes that the Communist newspapers that supported the coup be closed down; this is applauded. He thanks all foreign and Soviet journalists who maintained broadcasts last night.

At 1641 GMT a deputy asks about Lukyanov's visit to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Khasbulatov says that he tried to link up with Lukyanov during the interval, and was told that Lukyanov is not in Moscow.

At 1643 GMT Poptsov from the floor confirms that Russian TV is resuming programs tomorrow. A draft presidential decree on the media has been prepared and it envisages transferring the Second Channel to Russian TV.

At 1645 GMT Khasbulatov proposes to stop the debate. Voting is by a show of hands, and is adopted overwhelmingly.

At 1646 GMT a deputy from Rybinsk from the floor proposes to give pensions to relatives of those killed last night. He condemns the RSFSR Procuracy for sluggishness during the crisis.

At 1648 GMT Deputy Karyakin takes the floor as he has just returned from session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He says that Laptev had spoken there praising the Russian leadership. A decision was adopted to condemn the coup, and call for Gorbachev; the vice president's decree should be repealed immediately. Laptev will try to speak on "Vremya" tonight. Lukyanov has flown to the Crimea but Kryuchkov has disappeared.

Deputy Adamovich takes the floor to propose to declare days of mourning for those killed last night and to have state funerals. He is against medical certification of Gorbachev; the SCSE members should have a psychiatric examination instead.

At 1658 GMT Deputy Linkova asks for wider information regarding attitude to the SCSE in RSFSR autonomous republics. Khasbulatov makes relevant comments. Deputy Linkova is still concerned about the situation. She praises TV and radio journalists who were on the air day and night.

At 1704 GMT a deputy says that the Moscow Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB are our fifth column. He proposes to set time limits for transferring them to Russian subordination. Voting is done by hand, and is adopted overwhelmingly.

At 1711 GMT a deputy proposes that Russia take the initiative in signing the Union treaty. She warns about false rumors. Physically, not enough deputies are present. Those who have been in the parliament building for the last 48 hours now need the chance to rest. She addresses Muscovites who have shown courage.

At 1715 GMT Khasbulatov replies to questions posed by the deputy. The drafting commission says that a draft resolution will be ready in an hour. Many deputies are tired, but in spite of this, they are to discuss it today.

At 1718 GMT Deputy Kazakov from Krasnodar Kray refutes the claim of a previous deputy that nothing has been done in the kray. He points out that a commission was set up yesterday to insure the observation of the Constitution. Khasbulatov cuts him short by saying that the deputies should resolve this issue among themselves.

At 1720 GMT Deputy Zaytsev suggests tank crews who went over to Yeltsin's side should be rewarded by some new sort of medal or award for their actions.

At 1721 GMT Deputy Plotnikov warns that all is not over yet, and they should give some thought to what will happen tonight. He says that units need to be called. Khasbulatov explains that these units are on the way. He warns against trying to rival each other as to who is the most revolutionary. Deputy Travnikov from Leningrad echoes these warnings. The whereabouts of Kryuchkov are still unknown and the group could still get Gorbachev to sign his resignation statement. Deputy Zadonskiy repeats the same sort of thoughts. He also mentions the draft Union treaty, stressing its importance. He stresses the need to work on the articles of the Union treaty, taking as a starting point the economic aspect of the treaty. Khasbulatov suggests that now many things are important but they cannot all be discussed.

At 1726 GMT Deputy Yushenko calls on Muscovites to organize themselves to guard the parliament building, as all is not yet finished.

At 1728 GMT an unidentified deputy from Vyborg points out the need to address those who are still wavering, calling upon them to support the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Khasbulatov says that he will do this if it is necessary, but they have received many telegrams from deputies in other areas expressing their support.

At 1732 GMT Khasbulatov says that work is finished for today. Deputies are to resume work at 1000 tomorrow

Yeltsin Assails Coup Plotters

LD2108145591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1255 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Address by RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin to RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 21 August—recorded]

[Text] [Yeltsin] Esteemed people's deputies! Russia and our country are currently experiencing dramatic moments in their history, and perhaps tragic ones, too. There have been in the history of our country—and on more than one occasion—periods when unfortunately democratization appeared, as it were, to be beginning to increase and build up its pace, but nevertheless right-wing forces have tried several times to carry through this coup and they have finally carried it out.

You remember that the first time was at the beginning of the year, but then they were frightened by the statement about dictatorship by Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs, and corresponding public opinion both in Russia and in the country and throughout the world frightened them off.

You remember the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Union where approximately the same people—Pavlov, Kryuchkov, and Yazov—tried to demand both special powers for themselves and a narrowing of the rights of the country's president and his removal from power and so on and so forth—that was the second attempt that failed: The Supreme Soviet of the Union did not support it.

And finally the third attempt, which was successful when the country's president was and is—well, was on holiday, he's not on holiday now, he's in isolation, in the Crimea, in Foros, at his dacha. This is an anti-constitutional coup that has been carried out.

It was anti-constitutional because there were no statements from the country's president—neither written nor television or radio statements; there were no medical findings, either of our own country or by any international health care organization to the effect that he is incapable. On the contrary the information that we possess from his personal doctor who saw him indeed on the 19th, after which he himself was, so to speak, isolated from contact with him, is that he was well—the only thing he was suffering from was a slight radiculitis - which in my view cannot be described as or talked about as any kind of incapacity.

This is a blatant and unprecedented coup under the conditions of a democratic society which is indeed developing, and indeed all the names which you see are obvious and they are all on the right, absolutely all of them to the last man and absolutely all of them are known. They were unable to find even two or three people who were pseudo-democrats in order to take the edge off their list in some way, although they did make such attempts but they were rejected by these people and no one... and these comrades, so to speak, refused to participate in this anti-constitutional plot.

What was undertaken? The first thing is that during the very first hours, literally on the morning of the 19th, an appeal was made to the citizens of Russia, signed by me and by Comrades Silayev and Khasbulatov. You... this appeal... although virtually all of our Russian information media are now under blockade—we did not even have the ability to tell everyone—but by means of the installation of a powerful radio station here on the building, by means of telephone calls and so on, we nevertheless transmitted this appeal to the majority of regions and also the subsequent decrees of the president of Russia.

The following decrees were adopted during this day:

Declaring this committee to be anti-constitutional—decree No. 59—On the Chairman of the State Committee of Russia for defense questions;

On the transfer of the organizations of all executive power of the USSR, the USSR KGB, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the USSR Ministry of Defense on the territory of the RSFSR to the subordination of the President of the RSFSR.

Since the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces is absent and the minister of defense who has joined this committee is a criminal, this means we had to take upon ourselves the management of the Union troops located on the territory of the Russian Federation.

Further, a decree on the formation of a special group headed by the First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, which was sent to the center of the Russian Federation and started to work there in case of the seizure and removal of the leadership of the Russian Federation last night—and perhaps this danger can still not be ruled out; this group would accordingly then take upon itself the implementation of the executive power of Russia from there.

Further concerning the actions of Yanayev, Pavlov and others: A decree on the management of the armed forces, i.e. in this situation the President of the Russian Federation has taken upon himself the management of the armed forces.

Incidentally, many military units and divisions, the Taman and Kantemirov ones, and a group of paratroopers, have crossed to the side of the Russian Federation, and are carrying out the orders and instructions of the president of Russia.

Why was it not possible to isolate—or intern, as this junta cynically declares—Russia's leadership, the President, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the acting chairman of the Supreme Soviet and others, in the first 24 hours? It was because the Tula paratroop division, instead of taking the building by storm, took upon itself the guarding of the House of Soviets building, and solidly kept up this defense for 24 hours. [applause]

We are grateful to this division and to its leadership, to General Lebed and although, of course, a certain danger threatens him, I think that, also by a decree of the Russian President, insofar as this unit is now under Russian jurisdiction, I have taken on the right of guarding them from any actions taken against them on the part of the Union law-enforcement bodies. [applause]

A decree has been signed on the functioning of enterprises in the Russian Federation, and a decree on ensuring the economic sovereignty of the RSFSR. I would like to speak in a little more detail about this. Bearing in mind the fact that the signing of the Union treaty was planned for the 20th, there was an agreement with the Union president that on 21 and 22 August he would sign a decree on transferring to Russian jurisdiction enterprises and property situated on the territory of the Russian Federation. We had prepared our decree on these enterprises coming under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation. Bearing in mind the fact that this did not take place on the 20th because of this anti-constitutional group, and because there is no contact whatsoever with the country's president, I signed a decree on insuring the economic sovereignty of the RSFSR and, correspondingly, on the fact that all property on the territory of Russia comes under Russian jurisdiction. [applause]

Owing to the fact that a curfew is being introduced, including in Moscow, Leningrad and so on, I have dismissed the commanders of the Moscow and Leningrad districts, and other persons have correspondingly been appointed who are subordinate to the respective soviets and city halls of Moscow and Leningrad. A minister of defense of the Russian Federation has also been appointed—Colonel General Konstantin Ivanovich Kobets. [applause]

Appeals were signed, I have already said, to the citizens of the country, or rather, of Russia, to the people of Moscow; an appeal was sent to U.S. President Bush; an appeal to the servicemen, to citizens of Russia, to His Holiness the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Aleksey II—this appeal was carried by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, and His Holiness expressed full support for the position of the Russian leadership at this difficult period, and said that believers would support this position. [applause] As Ruslan Imranovich said, demands were worked out, demands in the form of an ultimatum, there were 10 of them, and accordingly three leaders, he said, had a conversation with Lukyanov, although it is impossible to believe that Lukyanov took no part and did not even know that this group was preparing to carry out this coup. [applause] A special directive was adopted on the protection of the House of Soviets, and there were good reasons for this, because preparations were under way to seize the House of Soviets, and moreover, this seizure had been prepared in quite a lot of detail, by the minute and the hour, and it was only our very resolute actions, and also, certainly, to a very large degree, the actions of the people of Moscow, who stayed around the clock for two days while we were here in the building, and the people of Moscow were outside the building in the rain for these days; this, perhaps, played a decisive role when the tanks, APC's, and Spetsnaz troops which were on their way to seize the House of Soviets, and accordingly, to intern the leadership of the Russian Federation, were stopped. [applause]

This is right. Muscovites need, of course, to be thanked for such decisive actions. [applause]

In addition to this, Kozyrev, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, has been sent to the United Nations to inform both Mr. Perez de Cuellar and also the United Nations about all the anti-constitutional events which are occurring in our country as well as about the actions of the Russian Federation. During this time I have been telephoned by President Bush; President Mitterrand; Major, the British prime minister; Havel, the president of Czechoslovakia; Zhelev, the

president of Bulgaria; Mrs Thatcher; and correspondingly by the leaders of the Union Republics.

It should be frankly stated that both Bush and Mitterrand and the others, all of them, firmly stated that they condemn the anti-constitutional coup and the actions of this group for the emergency situation, do not recognize any of its decisions, and support the actions of the Russian leadership; and they will accordingly take measures so that the world community will support these actions in an appropriate fashion and express its attitude.

It should be said that I appealed to them that they, for their part, should demand first of all communication with the president of the Union—and communication has been broken, more correctly has been blocked, and he is blocked himself in Foros in the Crimea—both by troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Union, further by the Union KGB, further by the ministry [corrects himself], by seamen of the Navy and also by a division of the KGB guards, that is, there are three rings.

Practically speaking, the runway is blocked off today and it is not yet possible to bring the president here. Attempts to break through these cordons have twice led to nothing.

My conversations with Yanayev and Kryuchkov, on the telephone, show that they are attempting to justify their actions on the grounds that they are, as it were, constitutional and that Gorbachev cannot fulfil his duties. This, of course, does not correspond to reality. Last night, yesterday evening, after our demands, during the night, at around 0300, Kryuchkov finally cancelled for the night the actions directed at blockading and storming the House of the Soviets. At my proposal, he agreed that we should fly out to Foros together and bring back President Gorbachev. But I need your permission for this.

[Voices from floor] No!

[Khasbulatov] To the President. Just a minute, let's agree that the questions come later. Later, comrades!

[Yeltsin] So in accordance with the demand, Kryuchkov has to come here, to the session of the Supreme Soviet, by 1300 [applause] so that you can ask him. With regard to this flight I don't think we can elucidate the objective situation in any other way [shouts from the floor] with a certain guarantee from Kryuchkov

[Voices from the floor] There are no guarantees whatsoever.

[Yeltsin] I tell you once again that I am willing, but it is up to you to decide.

[?Khasbulatov] Please pay attention. In a minute, Ivan Stepanovich, please wait.

[Yeltsin] Those are perhaps all the actions at this hour. The leadership of Russia and the president and the leadership of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers has been acting vigorously. They have neither panicked nor become despondent. They hope that the days of this junta are numbered and they must be removed. This committee must be dissolved and all eight members of it must be put on trial. [Applause]

Decree Increases Yeltsin's Powers

LD2108212991 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—A resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, "on additional powers of the president of the Russian Federation on the provision of lawfulness of activities of Soviets of People's Deputies under conditions of the elimination of consequences of a coup attempt in the USSR," was published here today.

The resolution says as follows:

"The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation resolves:

1. To grant the president of the Russian Federation the right, to be used until a law of the Russian Federation on the government of a territory and region in the Russian Federation, the laws on autonomous regions and autonomous districts of the Russian Federation, to remove from their posts chairmen of territorial and regional Soviets of People's Deputies and chairmen of Soviets of People's Deputies in autonomous regions and districts in case of their non-fulfilment of laws of the Russian Federation, decrees of the Russian president, acts of the Russian government, as well as in case of their fulfilment of decisions of anticonstitutional bodies.

2. To introduce the post of the head of administration in territories, regions, autonomous regions and autonomous districts as a head of a corresponding executive body.

The head of the administration in territories, regions, autonomous regions and autonomous areas is a legal successor of the executive committee of a corresponding Soviet of People's Deputies.

3. To grant the president of the Russian Federation the right for the above-mentioned period to appoint to the post of the head of territorial, regional, autonomous regional or autonomous district's administration and remove them from these posts.

Candidates for the post of the head of the administration in the autonomous region and autonomous district should be selected with due account of national peculiarities and local traditions.

4. To introduce this resolution into action since the moment of its adoption.
First deputy chairman
of the Supreme Soviet
of the Russian Federation R. Khasbulatov
Moscow, House of Soviets

of the Russian Federation
August 21, 1991

Silayev Requests To See Gorbachev

LD2208035291 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1318 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Remarks by Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) premier; Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman; and RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin, at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow on 21 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Khasbulatov] Ivan Stepanovich, microphone No. two, please.

[Silayev] Esteemed comrade deputies!

[Khasbulatov] Yes, Ivan Stepanovich, please, it would be better to come to the rostrum.

[Silayev] Esteemed comrade people's deputies! Until we can see for ourselves that the Union's President Gorbachev is alive and well, they will continue to tell us, and the whole population, that he is totally unwell. Hence, we have to see for ourselves. For that reason, I propose and request to be instructed, along with Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy, to travel there together with Kryuchkov. We will take along the relevant medical experts and try to take several correspondents, our own and foreign ones. You instruct us to do this, and we will do it. [applause]

[Yeltsin] It would be even better if ten or so people's deputies were to come along. [applause]

[Khasbulatov] Ivan Stepanovich's proposals seem very sensible to me, too. [passage omitted]

Esteemed deputies! If you agree, we still have to adopt a decision. Ivan Stepanovich has made the proposal, and Boris Nikolayevich has made a good addendum: ten deputies.

[Unidentified deputy] Not members of the Supreme Soviet.

[Khasbulatov] Not members of the Supreme Soviet, that's right, because the session—no, there's no session—if they are to fly out immediately, today. [sentence as heard] Let's not make fine distinctions; perhaps members, too, but people's deputies. I will put it to the vote; let's make it an open vote. Who is in favor of Ivan Stepanovich Silayev's proposal? Let's do it without raising points, in just a minute. Those in favor of this proposal, please raise your hands. Please vote.

[Yeltsin] I'm for my own proposal.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, yes. That's it. Who is against? Thank you: one, two. Abstentions? None. So, the decision is adopted.

Isakov Urges Commission Investigation

LD2208041191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1522 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Address by Isakov, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet deputy at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow on 21 August—recorded]

[Text] Respected people's deputies: One need not be a legal expert to understand that the actions of the so-called Union leadership connected with the removal from power of the president of the USSR and the creation of the State Committe for the State of Emergency exceed its authority and is a crude violation of the Constitutions of the USSR and the RSFSR. I face just such an appraisal at the sitting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and it has not changed now. Unfortunately, a number of the mass media, including abroad, gave a completely distorted interpretation of my position and that of Boris Mikhaylovich Isayev. Since this issue is arising, I ask respected Ruslan Imranovich to publish and distribute the texts of our speeches, or at least of my speech—Boris Mikhaylovich can really speak for himself. I do not renounce a single word in this speech. There is quite a sharp appraisal there, but I do not have any grounds for taking anything back.

The aim of my address now? I intended to make a number of proposals on a draft decision. However, the situation is changing so swiftly that I am not sure whether these proposals will keep their meaning until the end of our sitting. Therefore, I make the following proposal: that an editorial commission to draw up documents be formed so the posibility of them being adopted today might exist, so that after publication these documents do not turn out to be on yesterday's business.

In the two or three minutes that I still have, I would like to say the following: Yes, there was an attempt at a coup, but let us, people's deputies, look at the other side of the coin. After all, this attempt was undertaken in a country that is far from being rich and prosperous, under conditions of the most severe crisis. In essence, this was—let us speak bluntly—an absurd and illegal attempt to find some kind of way out of this crisis because our previous results, our previous attempts, had not given any result. Yes, I consider that one must not seek the way out by such means, but let us speak honestly, respected deputies, that we have not yet found a way out either. The state of emergency [chrezvychaynoye polozheniye] on the territory of Russia has been revoked, but the emergency situation [chrezvychaynaya situatsiya] remains, and we will encounter it in its full stature tomorrow. We will have to seek some kind of new and genuinely effective way out of this situation. This is the first point.

Respected colleagues, I am speaking about things that usually do not please some people, but I ask you to hear me out. The second point that I would like to note: I cannot agree with respected Ruslan Imranovich about the fact that only reactionary forces spoke out against the

Union treaty. Please take a look at the newspapers of two or three days ago. There are names of, to put it mildly, not only the reactionary. I understand the alarm of these deputies, and I consider it well-founded. I propose that work on the Union treaty should be continued both at the Supreme Soviet and at the forthcoming congress of people's deputies. Let us just ponder this at least: If the Union treaty was signed today as planned, then it would have been signed by Russia without its full state delegation, and this is a problem that there is no getting away from and a problem that needs to be thought about and worked on.

One last point: It is unlikely that anyone thinks that the situation that has happened during these two or three days... [changes thought] We know only the most superficial and most visible part. I propose that a deputies' commission be set up to investigate all the circumstances behind the occurrences. Both people's deputies and the people should know the whole truth, including the hidden springs behind this coup. Thank you.

Russian TV Carries Supreme Soviet Session 22 Aug

LD2208074191

[Editorial Report] At 0701 GMT Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian begins a live relay of the 22 August proceedings of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet from the Kremlin in Moscow. The relay opens with shots of deputies milling around the meeting hall.

A voice-over by (Vladimir Tsvetov) sums up the 21 August proceedings over video showing deputies filling the hall, and Silayev talking to deputies. (Tsvetov) muses about the events foreshadowing the attempted coup. He describes the trend as national socialism.

At 0708 GMT the presidium members appear and are greeted with applause and a standing ovation. RSFSR President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is chairing the proceedings. Ruslan Khasbulatov congratulates everyone on the victory. As the national anthem plays, the participants stand.

At 0711 GMT Yeltsin begins to address the session. He says that the latest information says that Ivan Silayev and Aleksandr Rutskoy went to the Crimea. After prolonged efforts supported by Admiral Chernavin, their plane landed near Gorbachev's dacha. They took the Gorvachevs onboard and brought them to Moscow. By a decision of the RSFSR Procuracy, all members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, except Baklanov and Starodubtsev, must be arrested. They are all people's deputies. So far, Dimitriy Yazov, Vladimir Kryuchkov, Valentin Pavlov, Gennadiy Yanayev, and Tizyakov have been arrested. Boris Pugo is being detained.

At 0715 GMT Yeltsin continues his speech by saying: Esteemed People's Deputies, the latest information after yesterday's meeting of the Supreme Soviet session: First, in keeping with the decision of the session, Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, and Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy, vice president of Russia, flew out in a special aircraft toward the Crimea. For a long time it was not possible to keep in constant touch with the flight deck, and to land precisely where Gorbachev was located. They wanted to land in Simferopol, but with the support of Admiral Chernavin and his subunits on the spot, and of Civil Aviation Minister Pantyukhin, they finally landed where it was necessary with an appropriate guard. The meeting with the president took place, and on the same aircraft President Gorbachev and his wife and daughter were brought to Moscow. I believe that in the coming 24 hours he will commence his duties.

Yeltsin goes on to say: In keeping with the procurator general's decision to institute criminal proceedings and the decision of the procurator of the Russian Federation, all members of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency should be taken into custody—apart from two people's deputies, Baklanov and Starodubtsev. At this time they have been detained and are in appropriate places:

Former Minister of Defense Yazov; former Chairman of the State Security Committee Kryuchkov; because Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers Pavlov is in the hospital, he has been placed under appropriate guard at his place of treatment; Yanayev has been taken into custody; General Director of Kalinin Works Tizyakov has been taken into custody; and now the group has gone to the house of the minister of internal affairs—former Minister Pugo.

The deputies greet the announcement of each name with applause, and Yeltsin continues: So, in keeping with this decision, it should be said that our Russian internal affairs bodies who fulfilled their duty worked very promptly and with precision.

Yeltsin goes on to say: I must also, on behalf of myself as president and on behalf of the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, on behalf of the Council of Ministers, and of all of you, the Supreme Soviet of People's Deputies, express immense gratitude to the Muscovites, the heroic Muscovites who for three whole days held a ring around the parliament. Many thanks!

These concluding words by Yeltsin are greeted with a prolonged standing ovation.

At 0719 GMT the deputies shout: Isakov—out! Khasbulatov appeals to the deputies to remain calm on such a festive day. The situation has changed to such a degree that there is no need to continue with the session, he says.

At 0721 GMT Deputy Peruyanskiy proposes from the floor to examine Gorbachev's cadre policy because it has failed. Deputy Stepashin proposes to appoint a Russian representative as defense minister. Another deputy questions Yeltsin's decision to remove local leaders. Yeltsin

says that the decision was based on the leadership behavior in the first days of the coup. Deputy Volkov proposes to fly the Russian flag on the Supreme Soviet building.

At 0726 GMT RSFSR Defense Minister General Kobets takes the floor to applause. He praises the courage of people who stood up to tanks and armored vehicles. He proposes to declare this day a national holiday of defense of Russia.

At 0730 GMT Deputy Ambartsumov speaking from the floor proposes Kobets for USSR minister of defense, since Russia has a right to leading posts in the Union leadership. He says the signing of the Union treaty should be revised since people like Mutalibov cannot be trusted; they are rabid partycrats. Those leaders who collaborated should resign immediately, he says.

At 0733 GMT Deputy Kazakov from Krasnodar points out poor communication systems, something of vital importance in emergency situations. He goes on to speak in defense of Gorovoy from the kray.

At 0735 GMT Silayev takes the floor. He says: We will not forget who was who during the coup, despite hasty attempts to change colors. This day should be marked in history.

At 0739 GMT Deputy Bogayenko from Novisibirsk comments on the draft decision by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet "On the Political Situation Following an Attempted Coup in the USSR" proposing certain amendments. Khasbulatov seconds the proposal.

At 0742 GMT a member of the editorial commission makes a point. Deputy Gurevich warns from the floor against complacency and attempts to hijack the victory by people who were silent during the coup. He proposes to streamline the presidium: Isayev and Isakov should leave the presidium as they betrayed everybody at the crucial moment. Communications systems should also be improved.

At 0746 GMT Khasbulatov makes remarks about the CPSU collaborating with traitors.

At 0747 GMT Deputy Medvedev from Mordovia proposes from the floor to consider Lukyanov's position during the coup. A session of the Soviet of the Republic should be held immediately to consider Isayev and Isakov.

At 0751 GMT Silayev says from the floor that Lukyanov was the driving force behind the coup. Yesterday Gorbachev met him, Silayev says, and it was disgusting to watch how Lukyanov tried to show his loyalty to Gorbachev.

At 0753 GMT Khasbulatov adds that Lukyanov insinuated that it was Yeltsin who had caused Gorbachev's illness because of his intransigence in Union treaty matters.

At 0755 GMT the registration of deputies begins and the session is declared a quorum. Khasbulatov proposes the agenda: On the situation in the RSFSR following the coup. The voting is by a show of hands; the agenda is adopted, with one vote against. Abdulatipov makes his amendment to the title.

At 0759 GMT Khasbulatov continues reading various amendments to the text. A deputy from the floor says we have to break the structures that were behind the coup: The army should be reduced drastically, a commission should be set up to eliminate the KGB.

At 0802 GMT Khasbulatov proposes to forward the above proposals to the Russian Ministry of Defense and the KGB. Deputy Rebrikov proposes from the floor moves to guarantee against a coup in the future.

At 0806 GMT Silayev takes the floor to propose to mark the heroism of those soldiers who disobeyed orders and defended the Russian Supreme Soviet.

At 0807 GMT Deputy Chelnokov demands a vote on raising the Russian flag on the building.

At 0810 GMT a deputy proposes amendments to the draft decision. Deputy Vilchik from Samara makes remarks about the nationalization of CPSU and Liberal Party property as worded in the decision. He also proposes to adopt decisions on individual people after thoroughly investigating their role in the coup.

At 0815 GMT a deputy makes remarks about the wording of the draft. A member of the editorial commission gives procedural clarifications.

At 0818 GMT Deputy Poptsov proposes to adopt the draft and include all the amendments and addendums later. He also proposes to review the law on the KGB in connection with the coup.

At 0820 GMT Deputy Yugin demands that enemy elements be removed from the presidium. Khasbulatov interrupts him.

At 0821 GMT Abdulatipov says that he was against the coup from the start and his conscience is clear.

At 0823 GMT Khasbulatov sums up the latest proposals.

At 0824 GMT Deputy Ryabov says the events have shown flaws in the Union treaty and proposes amendments. Another deputy says that the USSR Procuracy behaved treacherously during the coup and cannot be entrusted with investigating the coup. The RSFSR Procuracy should examine the case instead. Voting for the amendment takes place and it is adopted.

At 0828 GMT Khasbulatov proposes to adopt the draft as a whole. The deputies vote on this and the proposal is adopted.

At 0830 GMT the video shows Aleksandr Yakovlev appearing in the hall and taking his place next to Silayev.

At 0831 GMT Khasbulatov announces a 30-minute break. A deputy proposes to discuss the issue of Isakov and Isayev. Isakov says he is prepared to answer questions; he has nothing to hide.

At 0833 GMT Deputy Rumyantsev proposes to adopt a decision on the national flag immediately. He reads the draft decision on the flag. Khasbulatov interrupts him by referring to the relevant commissions.

At 0837 GMT Yakovlev takes the floor. He says that many so-called heroes will appear from tomorrow around the president. He warns: Be vigilant!

At 0839 GMT Deputy Stepankov speaks from the floor about Kryuchkov's arrest after his return to the Crimea; the same happened to Yazov and Tizyakov. At the moment Yanayev's office is being searched, he says. Baklanov has been arrested. Pugo has committed suicide. Pavlov is in the hospital. You will be briefed about further events, Stepankov adds.

At 0842 GMT a deputy insists from the floor on adopting a decision on Lukyanov, Isakov, and Isayev. Khasbulatov says this should be adopted strictly in accordance with the procedure.

At 0844 GMT Silayev says from the floor that the Russian state flag is ready and can be hoisted. Khasbulatov puts the issue to the vote. It is adopted unanimously.

At 0845 GMT Deputy Oleynik speaks about the shameful behavior of Prilukov, head of the Moscow KGB Directorate and RSFSR people's deputy, during the coup.

At 0849 GMT Deputy Vorontsov says that on Monday there was a meeting of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and it supported the coup. I am prepared to hold a press conference, he says, and make public what I know.

At 0850 GMT Deputy Sheynis says the RSFSR Supreme Soviet should be operating permanently. Deputy Alekseyev demands that the commanders who failed to carry out Yeltsin's orders should be fired immediately. A deputy from Kazan says that on 20 August a peaceful demonstration opposed to the State Committee for the State of Emergency was dispersed and people were beaten up.

At 0855 GMT Khasbulatov announces a break for a rally. The deputies start leaving the hall.

At 0857 GMT after the deputies have left the hall, announcer Vladimir Tsvetov comments off-screen on the importance of the rally, while the video shows huge crowds on the street waiting for the start. Tsvetov says that more than 100,000 people have gathered at the Victors' Rally.

At 0904 GMT an unidentified voice is heard opening the rally, and the national anthem is played.

At 0906 GMT Yeltsin starts speaking from the balcony of the Supreme Soviet building. Yeltsin's voice is heard but he is not on camera. He announces that the tricolor is to be Russian national flag from now on and goes on to say that the State Committee for the State of Emergency was finished last night and the coupists are arrested. He continues by describing the perils of dictatorship. Russia was the main target of the coupists, he says. Muscovites were the ones to stop the reactionaries and the Russian leadership is indebted to them. He names the servicemen who defended the Russian Supreme Soviet.

At 0915 GMT Yeltsin continues to go over the criminal activities of the coupists. He says the Russian Communist Party is also acting illegally because it has not been registered yet. Lukyanov was the putsch's ideologue, says Yeltsin, but rank and file Communists must not be tarred with the same brush. The process of departyization must be carried forward more resolutely. A full invesitgation of what has happened will take time, he says. The guilty parties must be brought to trial; the procurator has started a criminal case. Nothing like this must ever happen again in our country. Yanayev, Yazov, Kryuchkov, Tizyakov and others are under arrest, while Pavlov is in the hospital.

At 0918 GMT Yeltsin says the RSFSR Supreme Soviet acted quickly to counter the State Committee for the State of Emergency, setting up a headquarters at the parliament at 0700 on Monday. Decisions were made about emergency control of the economy, and forces and security bodies were declared to be under Russian control. Yeltsin adds that all the people of Russia are to be thanked for helping to save democracy. There is massive applause from crowd.

At 0921 GMT Yeltsin goes on to say there are plenty of people hoping to claim some credit for the victory; he names Deputy Prime Minister Shcherbakov as one of them. Why didn't these people show themselves on 19 August, he asks? The events have shown that the reforms are not yet irreversible, and there are those who still want to try to put a stop to them. There is a lesson here for Gorbachev as well, he notes, adding that thanks to the people, the coup failed. The putsch, in the aspects concerning relations between the center and the republics, showed that the center is still conservative. More attention must be given to speeding up the process of giving republics more say in their own affairs, Yeltsin says. The putsch has held up the signing of the Union treaty.

At 0924 GMT Yeltsin says Russia needs a National Guard; Rutskoy has been charged with organizing this. A decree declaring all enterprises on Russian soil to be under Russian jurisdiction was signed yesterday, and a decree concerning the rights of the press has been drafted. Other measures are needed to ensure that power is not usurped again. Yeltsin says the Supreme Soviet agreed to the sacking of local leaders who had supported the coup. Lives were lost opposing the coup, and there were economic losses, he says. But the victory shows that

the people have made their choice and will defend it. Yeltsin concludes by calling on all citizens to embark on constructive work, for the victory of democracy over reaction.

At 0928 GMT there are calls for three cheers; followed by the crowd's chanting of: Yeltsin, Yeltsin. At this point the video shows Shevardnadze and Popov mingling with the crowd.

At 0929 GMT Silayev addresses the crowd. He recalls the criticism of Russian authorities in the past. But now all citizens can see that when danger threatens, the Russian people show their noblest qualities. Those who decided to wait and see how things turned out before declaring support for democracy, he says, will have this on their conscience. It is difficult to fully appreciate the feats that were achieved. Silayev suggests that a Russian Order, the George Cross, be reinstituted and awarded to those who defended Moscow. The crowd chants: Rossiya, Rossiya.

At 0934 GMT Khasbulatov addresses the rally, praising those who came to the defense of democracy. It did not at first look as if success would come quickly, he says, but once Russia's top leaders had gotten together they agreed immediately on the strategy—a very hard line against the coup leaders.

At 0937 GMT Khasbulatov goes on to note that the Supreme Soviet emergency session has just ended, and it endorsed the actions taken during the emergency. He warns against plutocrats who are hanging on to the coattails of the victory. He suggests nationalization of the Central Committee building, the PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA premises, and other places which have been connected with slanders against Russia. They immediately became adherents of the Emergency Committee, he says, adding that the newspaper editors should be sacked and the presses taken over, then they can start reporting objectively.

Khasbulatov goes on to note that the economy is in trouble; we need serious, well organized labor to guarantee our freedom, he says. Economic reform will be intensified, to promote the prosperity of our rich country that has been made a pauper.

At 0941 GMT Lieutenant-Captain Mikhail Nenashev, who headed the force defending the Russian White House, is called on to speak. He says he is a Northern Fleet officer, but has not lost his conscience. He says there are many like him in the forces who would act as he did and oppose leaders who betrayed the people. Nenashev reads a resolution adopted by the guard force, addressed to Yeltsin, demanding the sacking of reactionary generals and other top officers. Yeltsin shakes hands with him, and Nenashev says this shows acceptance. The coupists relied on the support of reactionary officers, he says. Departyization must be carried out immediately in the armed forces. Nenashev asks servicemen to gather outside the Supreme Soviet after the meeting to sign the resolution.

At 0949 GMT Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov addresses the meeting. He offers congratulations on the victory and says the democratic movment which has taken shape in recent years helped to ensure the defeat of the coup. The movement has been criticized for having mainly older people in it, Popov continues, but the past days have seen young people coming to the fore. The leaders knew they could count on the support of the people because of the democratic way they were elected.

Popov proposes that Yeltsin be made Hero of the Soviet Union. Yeltsin has been made an Honorary Citizen of Moscow. But the most important factor, Popov says, was that Muscovites themselves defended their country and Russia. We can arrest the coup leaders, but the totalitarian structures which they used still exist and must be eliminated, Popov says. The whole system of the KGB must be reorganized and split into separate bodies under parliamentary control; a civilian should be put in charge of the army; the cabinet, which yesterday admitted it does not know what it is doing, should resign; Lukyanov must go; the Union treaty must be signed; and a new Union parliament elected right away, Popov states. He goes on to ask why the Constitutional Oversight Committee and the veterans' organizations did nothing to stop the coup. The president must learn from the coup—he should follow Yeltsin's example and leave the CPSU. But the big lesson is that we have entered a new life.

At 0959 GMT Belokurkova, who is not further identified, addresses the crowd briefly offering thanks.

At 1000 GMT there is a call for a minute's silence for those who died.

At 1002 GMT Rutskoy addresses the crowd. He calls this a Russian Victory Day paralleling that of the war.

At 1003 GMT A.N.Yakovlev addresses the crowd. He says perestroyka began in 1985, but has been followed by creeping counterrevolution, leading to the coup. Those who promoted the counterrevolution must be identified, he demands, adding: We must be especially aware now. Hundreds of generals should resign today and antipeople activity by the KGB must end. The media must be the true mouthpiece of the people. He concludes by wishing those present happiness and prosperity.

At 1007 GMT Yeltsin puts a motion to the meeting to rename the square the Square of Free Russia [Ploshchad Svobodnoy Rossii]. A show of hands unanimously favors the motion. The decree will be signed within the hour, Yeltsin promises. The crowd chants: Freedom, Freedom!

At 1009 GMT some of the servicemen who switched to the defense of the Russian White House instead of attacking it address the rally.

Yeltsin Addresses Victory Rally

LD2208105891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0711 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Speech by Russian President Boris Yeltsin at victory rally in Moscow—live]

[Text] Dear Muscovites, dear Russians, compatriots: First of all, I wish to tell you that in honor of today, the day of victory of democracy over reaction, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation has today decided to declare the tricolor as the state flag of Russia. [applause and cheering]

Dear compatriots, last night major events occurred. At 2200, the activity of the illegal State Committee for the State of Emergency was halted. [applause] The group of adventurists who tried to seize power has been arrested. [applause] The attempt to radically change the direction of the development of our country, to cast it into the abyss of violence and lawlessness, has failed. [applause] On the third day, the antipeople, anticonstitutional rebellion was eliminated. [applause]

During the extremely short existence of the dictatorship of the eight it became exceedingly clear what would await the country and its citizens if the putschists won victory and seized power: From the first minutes of the dictatorship, brute force was the main means of carrying out the antipeople policy. Military equipment moved into the streets of the peaceful towns. Soldiers were again taken from their barracks in order, with the help of weapons, to pacify peaceful citizens. The blood of innocent people was again spilled. The country was on the brink of civil war. A sinister threat hung over the lives of many thousands of people. A malicious attempt was made to smother freedom and democracy, to revive the wolf laws of a totalitarian system. Within a few hours the country was drowned in a sea of lies, starting with the imaginary illness of the deposed president and ending with the people welcoming the state of emergency and being almost euphoric about this.

Yes, within a few hours glasnost had been trampled on. Even during the days of Stalinism there was none of the rigid censorship introduced by the putschists, and yesterday, I was forced to remove the leadership of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, Kravchenko [cheering and applause from the crowd] for carrying out the decisions of the committee.

The main blows of the plotters were aimed against Moscow, Leningrad, and the Baltics. But I believe I will not be mistaken if I say that Russia, its multinational people, and Russia's position with regard to democracy and reforms was the central target chosen by the putschists. Hundreds of tanks and tens of thousands of servicemen entered Moscow. The task was set to seize control of the House of the Soviets, where the parliament and Government of Russia are located, and to arrest its leadership and president.

I know that many of those taking part in this meeting were here during the gravest moments in the defense of the House of Russia, despite the rain, the cold, and a real risk to their lives. You never left this place, which, on 19, 20, and 21 August, became the most dangerous place in the capital. During these days and nights, many thousands of Muscovites demonstrated steadfastness, citizenship, and heroism. It was they who halted the advance of reaction and inflicted a crushing blow against it. You have the gratitude of the whole Russian leadership. Thank you. [applause and cheering]

Your weapon was the enormous will to defend the ideals of freedom, democracy, and human worth. It proved most effective. I express sincere gratitude to Major Yevdokimov, whose tanks occupied a defensive line around the House of Soviets [applause and cheering]; to Major General Lebedev, commander of the Tula Airborne Assault Division, who, together with those subordinate to him, did not permit the putschists to take the political center of the new Russia. I express profound gratitude to the thousands of servicemen and personnel of the law enforcement bodies, the security bodies, and the true patriots of Russia who came to its aid in its hour of destiny.

The active stance of the inhabitants of many cities and villages of the country, including, of course, first and foremost, Moscow and Leningrad, of people of various ages and professions, men and women, played an inestimable role in breaking the mutiny. The miners, the church, and others had a large say in the defense of the sovereign rights of Russia.

Our joint efforts have been crowned with success, and a major victory over the forces of reaction has been won. [applause]

From its first step, the activities of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency were in flagrant contradiction not only with the laws, the Constitution, and the declarations of the state sovereignty of the republics, but also with elementary moral norms. By isolating the president of the Union, the putschists embarked on a path of state crimes. All the illegal and anticonstitutional activities, as before, of course, were unanimously sanctioned by the neo-Stalinist core of the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee. [cheers and applause] The activities of the Russian Communist Party, which up to now has still not been registered, cannot be considered legal. [roars of approval]

Judging by a whole number of various factors, we can already conclude that Lukyanov was the ideologist of this putsch. [roars of approval]

This has once again cast a shadow on rank-and-file Communists who, I am convinced, should not share responsibility for such actions. At the same time, it is clear that eight individuals have been unable even for one moment to paralyze the country. This happened because they relied on the party-state structure both in the center and, here and there, in the rural areas. They had in their possession considerable information about what was happening in the country. They used the services, first and foremost, of their party accomplices.

including those in the mass media. It has become abundantly clear that it is necessary to implement more resolutely the process of departyization, especially, in the state structures. [applause]

It will take time to build a complete picture of what happened. Deputies' and journalists' investigations will be undertaken. But that is not sufficient. A most grave state crime has been committed and the criminals, traitors of the motherland, must be handed over to the courts. [applause] The procurator general has instituted criminal proceedings. [applause] Retribution for what has been perpetrated must follow and not for the sake of vengeance but for the sake of the highest human justice [applause] so that such a thing should never be repeated in our country. In view of the fact that criminal proceedings have been instituted, the Interior Ministry of the Russian Federation has taken into custody, as I have already said, Yanayev, Yazov, Kryuchkov, Pavlov—in hospital, Tizyakov, and others. [applause]

From the very first hours of the putsch the leadership of Russia undertook every possible measure in order to halt the activity of the self-styled State Committee for the State of Emergency in the republic. It was necessary to act quickly and decisively in order to seize the rebels' initiative and not let them consolidate themselves or gain momentum. Therefore, from 0700 on 19 August, that is two hours after [the putsch], the headquarters to neutralize their criminal activity started operating here in the House of Soviets. [applause]

The president, chairman of the the Council of Ministers, and first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet appealed to the peoples of Russia. By decree of the president of Russia, the activity of the committee on the territory of Russia was pronounced illegal and its orders invalid. [applause]

The decision was made to organize the operational management of the national economy complex of the republic in emergency conditions. All bodies of executive power of the USSR, including the armed forces, the KGB, USSR Interior, operating on the territory of the Russian Federation, were, by decree of the president, transferred for the duration to the direct subordination of the president of Russia elected by the people. [applause]

Until the restoration of power of the country's authorities, the president of Russia has taken on the command of the armed forces stationed on the territory of the Russian Federation. Colonel General Kobets has been appointed defense minister of the republic. [applause] Other urgent measures were taken for the speediest neutralization of the putschists. Contacts were maintained with the leaders of many states in the world. I sent a meassge to U.S. President Bush. Yesterday, last night, and this morning most heads of state of the world telephoned and said a huge thank you to all the peoples of Russia, to Russia itself, to the Russians, for the fact that Russia saved democracy, saved the Union, saved peace. [applause, cheers, chanting] Now, as always in such cases, quite a few new-found saviors of the fatherland will appear. We have the statement of Shcherbakov on television [jeering from the crowd]. One can only laugh; and the statements of a number of ministers that they were absolutely uninvolved in things, and a number of other leaders. But I think that in accordance with the decree, all those who carried out the decisions of that committee should have proceedings brought against them. [applause] One may ask why it was that only yesterday they declared their response to it, when everything had already become clear, when the putschists had already lost. Why did they not declare it on the 19th, in the morning or in the afternoon? One can ask that of many people, many, many. [shouts of agreement]

All of us have to draw serious lessons from the past. Once again we have convinced ourselves how fragile freedom is in our society, and how vulnerable democracy and glasnost are. Once again we have convinced ourselves that the reforms which are being carried out in the country have not yet become irreversible. There is still a slight chance for those who want to halt and even reverse them.

This is a lesson for us all, including the country's President Gorbachev. [applause and cheering] At the same time, it has again been shown how great are the powers of the people. The political course of Russia, the honor and virtue of its highest bodies of authority, of its leadership, were defended by unarmed, peaceful citizens. It is symbolic that among those who became the defense of the Constitution, the law, and human worth, there were a great many young people. This means that the future course of this reform is ensured.

The past days make it necessary to draw a number of conclusions. Today, the lagging of reforms in the center behind the transformations in the republics is extremely dangerous. The August putsch has shown once again that the Union structures remain conservative, impermissibly cumbersome, and they work first and foremost on an each for himself basis. At any moment they will seek to restore their dictatorship over the republics. Their immediate and resolute transformation is necessary.

The formation of a government of national accord can no longer be postponed. It should be mobile, effective, rationally structured, and the republics forming the Union should have the decisive word in its formation. Adjustments in the matter of the Union treaty are also necessary. The coup d'etat disrupted its signing, but it is impermissible to again postpone this procedure for an indefinite period. At the same time, Russia, but not it alone, has become convinced that some of the articles of the last version of the treaty have proven, bluntly, to be weak, and they have to be corrected. [applause and cheering]

And, of course, on the other hand, this document should take account of the experience which we have acquired over these past three black days.

Life has again shown us that Russia cannot feel itself secure without its own national guard. [cheering and applause] Vice President Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy has been instructed to deal with this matter. [cheering and applause]

We intend to adopt a more principled stand with regard to ensuring the economic sovereignty of Russia. The Russian Federation must have a full-blown economy, and yesterday a decree was signed transferring union property on the territory of Russia to the jurisdiction of Russia, all enterprises. [applause] The days of rule by the notorious committee showed that the mass media were extremely vulnerable. In the very shortest time, it is essential to adopt resolute measures to strengthen the mass media system in the republic. The stability of freedom of speech is a most important condition of progress in Russian society. The appropriate decree has been drawn up and was signed last night. Other measures are also being prepared. [applause]

There is a need for immediate transformations in the structure of political power of the Union. They must be organized in such a way as to exclude in the future any attempts at usurpation of power and trampling on the rights of the republic. A special question is the standpoint of a number of parties, mass media, and power structures during the days of the coup. Support for the illegal and anticonstitutional actions on the part of whoever carried them out cannot remain unpunished. Yesterday the republic's Supreme Soviet also instructed me to conduct a reshuffle of staff in those regions where the leaders supported the illegal State Committee for the State of Emergency. [applause] Even before, those people were in effect in a state of cold war with the leadership of Russia. Now they must leave their jobs. The decree on their dismissal was signed last night. [applause]

Esteemed fellow-citizens, the situation in the country is getting back to normal. The shameful days of the appearance of the gang of high-ranking adventurists is receding into the past. But too high a price has been paid for this, the irreplacable loss of human life, the life of people killed during the putsch, huge losses in the economy. But still, the main thing is that the coup failed. The country is emerging from the crisis foisted upon it. The forces which organized it are historically doomed, and first and foremost because the people have already made their choice and do not intend to reject it. The people have already freed themselves from the fear of some years ago. [applause]

In the name of national unity, I call on all my fellow-citizens to embark on creative work directed at the regeneration and renewal of Russia. For the victory of democracy over reaction, and as always in Russia, in conclusion, a Hoorah! Hoorah! [shouts of hurrah, rhythmic chanting of Yeltsin, Yeltsin]

General Kobets Gives Address

LD2208104491 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 0700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Speech by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Defense Minister General Kobets at the Russian Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade President, Esteemed People's Deputies. This is an exciting day for me, a day when I stand at this eminent rostrum in front of the courageous people which you are! Naturally, I am excited, and I do not want to say anything about what happened, and how. Our president, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, spoke sufficiently clearly about that yesterday. I would just like to take advantage of this rostrum to report to our electors what courage is needed for an unarmed people's deputy to lead massed tanks and armoured carriers. During these tragic and hard days you showed loyalty to your electors; you showed loyalty to your president who, together with the chairman of the council of ministers, firmly controlled the whole process. Despite our several attempts to remove the president to a place of safety, on the first night he said the following—he didn't speak about it, but I can tell you—we, he said, will either conquer or die with everyone. [applause]

In connection with the fact that our people, our Muscovites, our people of Moscow Oblast and other oblasts, who came here to defend our sovereignty with their bare hands, I propose that today be declared Day of Defence of Sovereignty of the Russian State, and declare it a national holiday. [applause] Thank you for listening. [applause]

Stepankov on Procuracy's Actions

LD2208095891 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 0839 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Speech by Deputy Stepankov at the 22 August session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies: I would like to give you some information about work carried out by Russia's law enforcement bodies on the consequences that have arisen as a result of the plot and the measures that have been taken with regard to them.

Yesterday, despite criticism about inaction on the part of the law enforcement bodies—I was unable to reply to that because of purely tactical considerations. A criminal case was instituted yesterday by the RSFSR Procuracy. Only we did not speak of this yesterday.

After the aircraft arrived from Foros, Kryuchkov was detained and arrested and taken to the place where he is being kept under guard. Sanction was given by the prosecutor general of Russia.

Yazov and Tizyakov flew in on another aircraft. They have also been arrested and installed in places where they are being held under guard. They are now being questioned.

A search has now been completed in the office of Yanayev, the former vice president. He has been taken to the office of the Russian prosecutor where he is being questioned. A sanction for his arrest has been issued.

In addition, questioning is also taking place now of Baklanov, another member of this committee

Unfortunately it was not possible to complete the operation and an hour ago while an attempt was being made to enter the apartment of Pugo, USSR minister of internal affairs, he committed suicide and serious wounds were inflicted on his wife, who has been taken to the hospital. Her condition is serious.

Pavlov is also in the hospital. Starodubtsev is outside Moscow. Measures will be taken to challenge them and question them.

Investigations are being carried out by the prosecutor's office of Russia because we consider that instructions were sent out on behalf of the leadership of the USSR Procuracy to the localities that they should recognize the actions of this committee. I believe that on the basis of those positions they have no right to investigate a case of that kind.

In consideration of the fact that there are people of military rank who have been arrested by us—but understanding the extraordinary nature of these circumstances we have nevertheless ourselves instituted this criminal case and have begun the investigations.

You will be informed about further results. [applause]

Lukyanov 'Main Ideologist Behind Coup'

OW2208092791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0844 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition No. 1:" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian prime minister, Ivan Silayev, told the emergency session of the Russian Supreme Soviet that in his opinion the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Anatoliy Lukyanov, was the main ideologist behind the coup in the Soviet Union. According to Silayev, at a meeting held on August 20 with Silayev, Yeltsin, and Khasbulatov, Lukyanov "tried to mislead us." Silayev also says that at a meeting on August 21 in the Crimea at Foros with Gorbachev "it was disgusting to see how Lukyanov tried to prove how he had been active in trying only to save the situation."

Yeltsin Decrees Announced, Detailed

LD2108222191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1918 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Statement by Shakhray, "advisor to the RSFSR president on legal issues"—unscheduled announcement]

[Text] Historians are yet to write the chronology of events in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and the USSR. Now I will simply read decrees from the RSFSR president, documents which, in a concise form, express the will of the RSFSR president in this extraordinary time. 19 August, 1210—A decree by the RSFSR president in connection with the actions of a group of people who have proclaimed themselves a State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]. I decree:

To deem the proclamation of the committee unconstitutional and to qualify the actions of its organizsers as a coup d'etat, which is nothing but a state crime. All the decisions adopted on behalf of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency should be regarded as illegal and null and void on RSFSR territory. Lawfully elected power in the person of the president, supreme soviet, council of ministers, and all the state and local bodies of power and government is in effect on RSFSR territory. Actions of the officials who carry out the decisions of the above committee are within the scope of the RSFSR Criminal Code and are to be criminally prosecuted.

Decree 61—Until an extraordinary congress of RSFSR people's deputies is convened, all the bodies of executive power of the USSR, including the USSR KGB, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the USSR Ministry of Defense active on RSFSR territory are to be subordinated directly to the RSFSR president elected by the people. The RSFSR KGB, the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the State Committee for Defense Issues are to temporarily perform the functions of the corresponding bodies of the USSR on RSFSR territory. All territorial bodies of the KGB, MVD, and the Ministry of Defense on RSFSR territory must carry out immediately the decrees and instructions of the RSFSR president. All bodies, officials, and citizens of the RSFSR must immediately adopt measures for precluding the implementation of any decisions and instructions of the anticonstitutional committee for the state of emergency. Those officials who carry out the decisions of the above committee shall be relieved from their duties in accordance with the RSFSR Constitution. RSFSR Procuracy bodies should take immediate measures to institute criminal proceedings against the above persons.

Decree 63 [as heard]—Having carried out a coup d'etat and removed the USSR president, commander in chief of the USSR Armed Forces, from office by force, USSR Vice President Yanayev; USSR Prime Minister Pavlov; KGB Chairman Kryuchkov; Minister of Internal Affairs Pugo; Minister of Defense Yazov; Starodubtsev, chairman of the Peasants' Union; Baklanov, first deputy

chairman of the State Committee for Defense; Tizyakov, president of the Association of Industry, Construction, and Communications; and their accomplices have committed a most grave state crime covered by the RSFSR Criminal Code and relevant articles of the foundations of the Criminal Legislation of the USSR and Union republics. Having betrayed the people, homeland, and Constitution, they have placed themselves outside the law. On the basis of the above, I decree:

Staff of the bodies of Procuracy, State Security, Internal Affairs, servicemen who are aware of responsibility for the destinies of the people and the state and do not wish to see dictatorship, civil war, or bloodshed are given the right to act on the basis of the USSR and RSFSR Constitution and laws. In my capacity as Russian president, on behalf of the people who have elected me, I guarantee you legal protection and moral support. The fate of Russia and the Union is in your hands.

Decree 64 on running the Armed Forces of the USSR on RSFSR territory in conditions of an emergency situation—The president of the USSR, who is the supreme commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Union, has been removed from office as a result of an attempted coup d'etat carried out on the night of 18-19 August 1991. The vice president of the USSR, the minister of defense of the USSR, the first deputy chairman of the Defense Council of the USSR, and other members of the Defense Council have embarked upon a criminal path of changing the constitutional system by force, thereby placing themselves outside the law, and cannot fulfill their duties in running the Armed Forces of the USSR and in protecting the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the republics and the Union as a whole.

In consideration of the need to ensure security under conditions where there is no constitutional control of the Armed Forces of the USSR, I decree:

I take upon myself the command of the Armed Forces of the USSR upon the territory of the RSFSR from 1700 Moscow time on 20 August 1991 until the operation of the constitutional bodies and institutions of state power and Government of the USSR is restored in full.

All military units and subunits of the Armed Forces of the USSR and troops of the USSR KGB situated upon the territory of the RSFSR, until special instructions are issued by me, must remain in the places where they are permanently stationed. Units and subunits that have been moved out are to return to the places where they are permanently stationed.

In connection with the participation of USSR Minister of Defense Yazov in the coup d'etat, all orders and other decisions issued by him since 18 August 1991 are revoked. In the future, orders and other decisions signed by Yazov and Kryuchkov are not to be accepted for implementation.

Demands put forward by the RSFSR president to the organizers of the anticonstitutional coup—Yanayev, Baklanov, Kryuchkov, Pavlov, Pugo, Starodubtsev, Tizyakov, Yazov—being aware of responsibility for the future of the homeland and proceeding from the political will of Russian citizen, I submit the following claim to you:

I request that the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR should stop its illegal anticonstitutional activity as of 2200 on 21 August. All the decisions adopted since its formation are to be unconditionally repealed. I make it incumbent upon the committee to repeal immediately all the decisions obstructing the execution by USSR President Gorbachev of his constitutional duties. In case the above demands are not fulfilled, I will adopt all the measures envisaged by law to halt the illegal activity of the committee and to ensure constitutional order and legality in the country.

Today, the Supreme Soviet, at its extraordinary session, supported the resolute actions of the RSFSR president to introduce constitutional order and invested the RSFSR president with the right to remove from office the chairmen of kray and oblast soviets who backed the position of the SCSE. In connection with this the RSFSR president has issued a decree:

Due to their support of the anticonstitutional activity of the so-called State Committee of the State of Emergency and failure to carry out the RSFSR president's decrees aimed at stopping a coup d'etat, on the basis of Article 121-8 of the RSFSR Constitution and Article 8 of the RSFSR Law on the RSFSR President, I decree: To relieve from executing the duties of chairman of executive committee the following persons: (Gorovoy), Krasnodar Kray; (Borodayev), Rostov Oblast; (Tarkhov), Samara Oblast; (Toporkov), Lipetsk Oblast. The RSFSR Procuracy, the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the RSFSR Committee of State Security shall investigate the activity of the above officials.

Presidential Decree 69 on the mass information media in the RSFSR:

A group of individuals who proclaimed themselves a State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR adopted a decision on introducing control over mass information media and setting up a special body which, in essence, has to carry out the functions of political censorship as well as on closing down a whole number of democratic publications. The All-Union Television and Radio Company has, in fact, become a tool, carrying out the anticonstitutional coup. Thus, an attempt was made at repealing the USSR law on the press and other media. As a result of these actions, a serious threat to freedom of speech, a real achievement of democracy, has emerged. In the situation that has emerged, I decree:

To repeal the decisions issued by the SCSE regarding the mass information media as devoid of legal force from the moment of their publication.

To ban the propaganda of the decisions by the USSR SCSE and to regard it as an action aimed at supporting a coup d'etat in the USSR.

To remove Kravchenko, chairman of the All-Union Television and Radio Company, from office until the USSR president decides on the issue.

To istruct the RSFSR Procuracy to give a legal appraisal of his actions.

To place the leadership of the All-Union Television and Radio Company with Poltoranin, minister of the press and mass information, temporarily, until its chairman is appointed in accordance with legislation.

To transfer the Second All-Union Television Channel to the administration of the All-Russian State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company for creating a republican television network. The RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Information and the leadership of the All-Union Television and Radio Company should ensure the operation of mass information media on RSFSR territory in accordance with the USSR law on the press and other mass information media. The leaders of all the mass information media in the RSFSR should ensure the speedy dissemination of information on the decisions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, president, and government among the population.

And the last, tragic decree, on the funerals of Moscow citizens who died in clashes with military subunits. Noting the active civic stand of Moscow residents in the defense of constitutional democratic system and paying last respects for the memory of those who died in the struggle for democracy, I decree:

To charge to the state the expenses linked with the funerals of the citizens who died in clashes with military subunits during the night of 20 to 21 August. The RSFSR Council of Ministers should give help to the families of the dead and together with Moscow's mayor shall organize and conduct the funerals.

This is the chronology of the attempted coup d'etat.

Yeltsin Cancels Television Speech; Said Worn Out

OW2108204991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1955 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR People's Deputy Konstantin Lubenchenko has told IF [INTERFAX] that Boris Yeltsin's statement on television, scheduled for Wednesday, will not take place because the Russian President is "worn out". This report has been confirmed by the President of the Russian Company for Television and Radio Broadcasting Oleg Poptsov.

Yeltsin Adviser Bogomolov Views Coup Failure

AU2108185291 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1621 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Telephone interview with Oleg Bogomolov, economic adviser of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, by Agathe Zuppan; Bogomolov in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Zuppan] Professor Bogomolov, the emergency committee actually consisted of top politicians: the defense minister, the prime minister, the KGB chief—all of them people with a lot of influence and power. Why did they fail, in your opinion?

[Bogomolov] The coup was organized in a very primitive way. Of course, there was the danger that this coup might have been successful. However, the organization was too primitive. I think that the putschists underestimated the people's will to resist.

[Zuppan] But how could such old hands in politics, for instance KGB Chief Kryuchkov or Defense Minister Yazov, underestimate the people's political will so completely and the fact that the army is obviously no longer fully supporting the leaders?

[Bogomolov] Actually, this is the agony of the old regime. They were very much in a hurry. They wanted to do something before the Union treaty was signed. This explains it.

[Zuppan] You mean that these politicians of the old guard, these Stalinist Communists were afraid that the signing of the Union treaty would make the old Soviet Union, the centralist Soviet Union finally crumble and that thus their positions of power would disappear?

[Bogomolov] Yes, they tried to prevent the crumbling of the old Soviet empire. This was actually one of their goals. Of course, they wanted to safeguard their own power and their political future.

[Zuppan] Who won? Who, do you think, made sure that this putsch was not successful—Soviet President Gorbachev?

[Bogomolov] These people did not agree among themselves and were not courageous enough?

[Zuppan] Not courageous enough?

[Bogomolov] Not courageous enough. There were different people there—some of them were not quite sure that they would be able to give orders to shoot at the people, others were perhaps a bit more determined. The split in this committee was perhaps one of the reasons for failure.

[Zuppan] How was the distribution within the committee, in your view? Who were the Stalinists, the strict Communists, who was in favor of harsh action, of enforcing this putsch at any cost? Who were those who said, rather, that one should not necessarily use force?

Does Pavlov's resignation indicate that he was one of those who said that force should not necessarily be used?

[Bogomolov] Perhaps. The second one may be Marshal Yazov. At the head was, I think, Baklanov. He was a gray cardinal, who actually guided all this.

[Zuppan] He was not so well known to the public, but he had a lot of influence.

[Bogomolov] A very influential man.

[Zuppan] With very good relations as a civilian, also with the Defense Ministry.

[Bogomolov] Perhaps he also had good relations with the army.

[Zuppan] Now, after the putsch—it is over. Do you also think that it is really over, that the danger has been banished, so to speak?

[Bogomolov] We cannot yet clearly analyze the consequences of this putsch. I think that these consequences will be very great. I expect the dissolution of the party, which actually was behind these putschists. I also expect the radical reorganization of the army, of the KGB. Perhaps also the ban of the Communist newspapers, which published lies during these days and described events in a false light. I do not know what the president's future will be like.

[Zuppan] What will happen to Gorbachev? When he comes back, will he be the glorious victor or what will happen?

[Bogomolov] Of course, he will come back, but I think that he is co-responsible to a certain extent.

[Zuppan] One might say that he acted too late. There were indications of that.

[Bogomolov] Yes, actually all these people, these putschists, were chosen by him; they were his creatures.

[Zuppan] Why did he choose them? Since he chose them, why did he keep them?

[Bogomolov] I cannot explain this, this is also a riddle for me and perhaps for the others.

[Zuppan] Is it possible that when he chose Pavlov and others, his deputy, for instance, he was already under great pressure from Stalinist circles?

[Bogomolov] This may be. When we talk about Pavlov or Yanayev—perhaps at that time Gorbachev was a hostage of the military, the military-industrial complex. But Lukyanov is his creature and so are Kryuchkov and Yazov.

[Zuppan] Who now has the power in the state? Who rules in the central government and who rules in the republics?

[Bogomolov] In the republics it is quite clear. The republics are ruled by the republican governments.

[Zuppan] These governments were not shaken, in your view?

[Bogomolov] No, not yet. Even in the Baltic republics [words indistinct]. But who rules in the Soviet Union—that is....

[Zuppan] ...the question, yes.

[Bogomolov] ...not clear. Perhaps the Supreme Soviet presidency today. Perhaps tomorrow Gorbachev will be back.

[Zuppan] Do you believe that he will come back?

[Bogomolov] I expect so.

[Zuppan] Do you believe that he will be able to assume power again? What will have to change?

[Bogomolov] Of course, he has not been deposed. This is the competence of the people's deputies.

[Zuppan] ...to depose him, you mean. As state president he actually has a lot of power. But something must probably change. He simply cannot accept such an attempted coup and continue as if nothing had happened.

[Bogomolov] Of course, he has to learn very serious lessons from these events. The others, too—I do not know, the people's deputies perhaps, will assess his behavior.

[Zuppan] What do you expect? You are a people's deputy yourself.

[Bogomolov] I think that he may be criticized very strongly.

[Zuppan] Why? For hesitating so long to do something? For doing too little?

[Bogomolov] Actually, we are very badly informed about these events and we do not know exactly whether Gorbachev knew what was going on or whether he was arrested. This is not yet clear.

[Zuppan] Do you consider it possible that this attempted coup took place with Gorbachev's knowledge?

[Bogomolov] There is some information that he received a proposal by (Baklanov) and others to declare a state of emergency and he rejected this proposal. This was said by Mr. Lukyanov. Thus, he knew the intentions of these people.

[Zuppan] I think that this is a main reproach against Gorbachev—that there have long been indications that there is such a Stalinist, conservative countermovement, which would be willing to overthrow him. Shevardnadze's resignation, for instance, took place clearly because of this and actually Gorbachev did not react.

Thus, one could say for the future that if there ever again is the danger of a coup, Gorbachev is certainly the wrong person to defend himself against this. Or do you believe that he personally has learned something? Will he now pursue the path of democratization more vehemently?

[Bogomolov] I think so. In any case, he was warned—repeatedly. You remember Shevardnadze's warning. This was in December 1990. This warning was not taken seriously by many people. However, Shevardnadze was right. Gorbachev as head of state should have taken this warning seriously. He was well informed. Therefore, I think that some blame—I do not know how much—rests with him.

[Zuppan] He did not hear the warnings in time, and if he heard them he thought that maybe the danger could be averted somehow. Do you mean it in this way?

[Bogomolov] Yes, perhaps this was true.

[Zuppan] What do you think will happen now after the failure of the Stalinist putsch? What is the future Soviet Union supposed to look like? Probably quite a lot will change.

[Bogomolov] I think that the failure of this coup paves the way for radical changes in our country and perhaps also for the signing of a new Union treaty.

I cannot say what this treaty will be like. Perhaps [words indistinct] prepare the signing. The situation has changed fundamentally over the past few days and perhaps we may expect a new draft of the Union treaty.

[Zuppan] Do you think that this attempted coup has brought something for the nationalist efforts in the Soviet Union? Has it changed the position of the Baltic states, for instance? Do they now have more chances to implement their efforts for independence, do you think? Latvia declared itself independent yesterday [as heard]. Or will this rather rigid policy, which Gorbachev, too, pursued toward the Baltic states—if independence at all, then only after a very, very long transition period; repeated military interventions—be continued?

[Bogomolov] No, I rule that out. I rule that out now. I think that after the failure of this coup the prospects for the independent development of the Baltic republics look very good.

[Zuppan] Does this also go for the other republics that are striving for independence?

[Bogomolov] Yes, also for the other republics that express such desires.

[Zuppan] You mean Gorbachev will not be a strong president in the sense that he will keep the country strictly together, but he will grant as much freedom as possible?

[Bogomolov] He cannot keep the empire together with military force. He must grant freedom to the republics, and only when they enjoy freedom, one can expect them to be integrated voluntarily.

[Zuppan] Professor Bogomolov, unfortunately, we cannot understand you anymore. I am terribly sorry, but the telephone line is on the point of collapsing. I would like to ask you a personal question in conclusion. Have you already celebrated the events, will you celebrate, are your family, your friends, your institute celebrating?

[Bogomolov] Yesterday was my birthday.

[Zuppan] Congratulations. This was a nice birthday.

[Bogomolov] Despite the state of emergency and all these events.

[Zuppan] Today you have reason to celebrate again.

[Bogomolov] Yes. Now, of course, we have an important reason for a celebration.

[Zuppan] Thank you very much for the interview. Goodbye to Moscow.

[Bogomolov] Goodbye.

Khasbulatov Interviewed on Recent Events

LD2208021291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2204 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Studio interview with Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, by Pavel Ogorodnikov on 21 August—live or recorded]

[Text] [Ogorodnikov] Ruslan Imranovich, just over 70 hours have passed since those pretenders seized power, explaining yet again to the people that they are acting in their name, on their behalf, and that they represent their interests. They promised, within the next few days, hours, minutes even to rectify the difficult situation in which our country finds itself. Slightly less than three days have passed. What is the position at this moment today?

[Khasbulatov] At this moment, the position is such that, practically speaking, these are now the last hours of the death agony of this self-proclaimed junta of plotters who carried out a state coup and removed President Gorbachev from power. I must say here, without exaggeration, and I think our fellow citizens should know this, that the main role in overthrowing these plotters was of course played, first by the Russian leadership, and second, by our population, which supported us very actively in this very hard and difficult battle.

From the very start, in contrast to other leaders of the Union republics, we adopted a very hard line in relation to the plotters. We did not hold any talks at all. The only person with whom we felt it was possible to hold talks was Comrade Lukyanov. Of course, I do not know exactly what his role was, but formally speaking, he did not participate in the affairs of these conspirators in the

first place, and secondly, he is—as you well know—the head of the Union parliament.

In relation to the conspirators, we adopted a very hard line; therefore, they set themselves the task of overthrowing us by force, of seizing the Russian parliament and Government, first and foremost Yeltsin, and obviously, me, too. So, as you can see, with the support of the Muscovites—and once again I would like to express my enormous gratitude to them—neither the tanks nor the special forces broke through, nor did the other special forces that were earmarked for the very task of seizing and, to put it bluntly, breaking the backbone of democracy and democratic development that in the course of a whole year, generally speaking, has been heard from the Russian parliament and the Russian Government in the persons of its leaders, and first and foremost, President Yeltsin.

[Ogorodnikov] Ruslan Imranovich, could you tell me about that attempt to attack the barricades that was undertaken last night. Was it an accident, or was it really a half-hearted attempt, all the same, somehow to have an effect on the events taking place in Moscow?

[Khasbulatov] No, it was not half-hearted. I think that that rumor, which was put about by journalists without any conscience, that it was some sort of scenario—I think that it was special, that it also came from special laboratories, perhaps from the same laboratories that that plot came from—to show that here there was some sort of plot and so on. That is all rubbish. In actual fact, it was not a half-hearted attempt, but a serious one. If 500 tanks are brought into Moscow, if dozens of divisions are brought into Moscow, including special forces and KGB divisions, and when thousands of these various agents are literally on the prowl, when there are 12 brigades of snipers trained on the leader of the Russian leadership, then what sort of jokes are these? Judge for yourselves.

The only thing that was lacking was decisiveness on the part of the conspirators to spill a sea of human blood. This stopped them, that is the first thing. Second, they were stopped by our very decisive action. We immediately informed public opinion throughout the whole world. Then the whole of Russia began to rise, the outlying areas, the local soviets, the oblast and kray soviets. Everywhere, they refused to acknowledge this junta. Only in a number of cases, of separate cases, did kray, oblast, and supreme soviets of the autonomous entities move toward some sort of cooperation. There are always collaborators, they are everywhere.

[Ogorodnikov] Yes, unfortunately, yes.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, and President Bush took an active stance, British Prime Minister Major expressed his solidarity. French President Mitterrand and the East European leaders—Havel—so you know, on the whole, the entire world literally shuddered from the death agony—perhaps the final, although obviously it is far from being the last one—but nevertheless, it is a very serious death agony of this dying administrative-bureaucratic system of ours, as our system has been called.

[Ogorodnikov] Ruslan Imranovich, all the same, this seizure of power really was an unconstitutional act, and those people who seized power cannot be called anything other than pretenders, but nevertheless, can you say that this was yet another attempt by the Communists once again to try to revive those ideas that have tortured us for more than 70 years? All the same, do you consider that this was a communist military coup, or can it in some way be characterized differently?

[Khasbulatov] It can be characterized differently. That is to say, it is an alliance of the most reactionary forces, including the supreme party officials; that is beyond any doubt. That is indisputable, taking into accout both Yanayev's past and others like Prokofyev here, and his participation—the Moscow secretary—can be seen fairly clearly, that is beyond any doubt. Therefore, to a significant extent, I think that you are right, but it was not solely the party, the supreme party officials. There were also the reactionary upper echelons of the generals, the reactionary leadership of the military-industrial complex—you know Tizyakov, and also Baklanov—all of them striking representatives of the most reactionary section of our military-industrial establishment. So this was an alliance of the most reactionary forces in our society.

[Ogorodnikov] Tell me, probably not all of us know, that is to say, our viewers have been deprived of all possibilities of finding out what has been going on. Naturally now, a situation has arisen in which we can say what is now going on. Could you characterize the situation at the given moment? Is the victory of the democratic forces final and irreversible?

[Khasbulatov] Well, no, you cannot say that it is final and irreversible, because although it is possible to say that the plotters of the coup have been eliminated, its lower links, individual plans, some strategic ideas, some dispersed knots of force, and its nidus have remained. They can start a counterattack. That is why our White House is being guarded today, very seriously, with patriotic soldiers, military units, militia formations, and most importantly by thousands of Muscovites, as you know yourself. We think that today again there could be attempts at revenge or reprisals. You know when....

[Ogorodnikov, interrupting] Yes, agony.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, the agony of a bird of prey. Sometimes it can snap at you rather seriously and it can inflict a very heavy blow. Of course, you see, there were casualites, a couple of people lost their lives. We do not at all want this agonizing system to bring even more victims in the last hours of its life.

[Ogorodnikov] Ruslan Imranovich, here is the question that is certainly of interest to all: Where are the coupists now, and where is President Gorbachev? I know that he

was due to land in Moscow at 0000 Moscow time. Is that right? Once again, where are the coupists?

[Khasbulatov] That is exactly right. I think that it is exactly right. The coupists flew to see him once they clearly understood that they were doomed. They wanted to prevent some of our activities. And moreover, knowing our plans... [changes thought] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin wanted to fly out there himself in the morning. They found this plan out, that Yeltsin was planning to fly out there to bring the president back to Moscow with him. But we strictly forbade him to do so. As the head of the parliament, as the acting head of the parliament, I told him we could not risk him. We have enough other authoritative and influential figures in the Russian leadership. The parliament backed this idea. So we sent Prime Minister Silayev and Vice President Rutskoy there. The coupists got together very quickly at that particular moment and wanted to outstrip us. But Yeltsin talked to Gorbachev, and the latter refused to see them. They flew back. I think President Gorbachev has landed now as well.

[Ogorodnikov] Well, we will expect the country's president and the Russian leadership to undertake some decisive and quick actions. I think that in the near future and subsequently you will have an opportunity to provide any information, most objectively....

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Of course....

[Ogorodnikov] ...the information we were, unfortunately, deprived of on television and in other mass media.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, of course.

Life in Moscow Reported 'Outwardly' Normal

PM2108132391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[Report by A. Batygin and G. Bilyalitdinova: "Yesterday in the Streets of Moscow"]

[Text] Moscow—Yesterday's categorical "no entry" was replaced today by "proceed" for the capital's drivers. At any rate, the traffic policemen did not prevent us from driving through Gorkiy Street. Prior to that, having found nothing unusual or alarming on either Leningrad or Lenin Avenues, or on Chekhov Street, or Peace Avenue, we had entered Gorkiy-Tver Street.

We stopped at the popular "Natasha" store.

"The number of people has dwindled considerably," adminstrator Ye. Stepanova said. "Although business was good yesterday and we banked 41,000 rubles [R]. Trade is normal, no shortages. In fact, as you can see, people are weary and indifferent. As for my view of what has happened, I would say this: I wish Gorbachev himself had appeared before the people."

It was impossible to get into the "Food" store, not far from "Natasha"—the line was three deep: They were selling cheese. There were also dairy products.

"Everything has been delivered on schedule," acting director V. Greshnykh said. In the store itself people were talking about food, how and where to get it, no mention of politics....

We popped into McDonalds. It was crowded, as usual.

"Will the present situation not affect business?" we asked the manager, who was standing at the entrance.

"I am not authorized to answer correspondents' questions," he said. "We have organized a press service for that. But you will find the answer for yourselves if you visit our restaurant."

The doll-makers of the Old Arbat halved the prices of their goods today.

"Why?" we asked a bearded fellow, who refused to give his name.

"We are going down the drain!" he replied. And he added in perfect English: "Until the political situation improves."

Outwardly Moscow, its inhabitants, and visitors are living a normal life, engaged in day-to-day business. Except that you find people stopping at newspaper display windows and in underground passages to read the leaflets stuck on the walls. In the main they are Xerox copies of the appeal by B. Yeltsin, I. Silayev, and R. Khasbulatov in connection with the introduction of the state of emergency in the country.

Another place we visited yesterday was the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Public Relations Center. What has the atmosphere been like in the capital in the past 24 hours, has there been a crime wave, did yesterday's events aggravate the already very difficult situation in Moscow?

"Between 100 and 120 crimes have been committed," Vladimir Vasilyevich Vershkov, the center's deputy chief, replied. "You cannot say that the number of offenses has increased or decreased—it is the normal level. In 47 cases the crimes were solved while the trail was still fresh, so to speak. There were 21 car thefts and 25 crimes that fall within the purview of the Main Administration for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation."

"Any deaths?"

"Yes, two people, but I hasten to add that their deaths were due to traffic accidents. Some 24 other people have been hurt in traffic accidents."

"What is the Moscow militia's chief concern at the moment?"

"Officers of the capital's militia have in the main been busy fighting crime, solving crimes, and maintaining public order in the city."

Kozyrev Interviewed on Events in Moscow

LD2108120391 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev in Paris by correspondent Peter Snow in London on 20 August; from the "Newsnight" program—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Snow] Mr. Kozyrev, first of all, what do you think about what you hear and we see happening in Moscow right now?

[Kozyrev] This is a flagrant crime against Soviet people, Russian people, and humanity. I think that it is now time for appeasement for those bandits who claim to be new leaders of the Soviet Union. My sole consolation—that I'm not there at the white house—is that they will probably get me here in the West, if not isolated completely. [sentence as heard]

[Snow] Mr. Kozyrev, you are, of course, what President Yeltsin calls his foreign minister of this Russian Republic, which of course the West doesn't yet recognize as an independent republic. What is your job in coming to Paris and Washington? Obviously you are going to Washington now. What do you want the West to do about it?

[Kozyrev] I want the West to come to grips with the reality of the attempt to restore the totalitarian regime. Any thinking that this regime, if reinstalled, will be a partner in a new World order, is just an illusion.

[Snow] We heard a little earlier Michael Sturmer telling us that the West can't have a decisive effect on what's happening in Moscow. What effect do you think what we do can have?

[Kozyrev] Well, I think the West, if it acts quickly and decisively, can make some difference. For instance, right now, to my mind, it would be appropriate to recognize independence of Baltic States, in ambiguous terms, and just recently proclaimed independence of Estonia, because this will show to the new Kremlin leaders that they are breaking up the empire by their use of force, and that the West will not tolerate crackdown, at least in Baltic states. [passage omitted]

[Snow] Whatever Mr. Bush does or doesn't do, whatever Mr. Major does or doesn't do, is it not, now, a bleak fact that the resistance and the rejection that President Yeltsin is showing for the new regime is about to be crushed in Moscow?

[Kozyrev] Well, you never know. I still believe that the freedom of people, the lust for freedom cannot be crushed.

[Snow] But, how can it express itself if it is, now, suppressed, tonight, by these armored cars and tanks in Moscow?

[Kozyrev] Still, we will have the resistance of the Soviet and Russian people, and still we will have new attempts to get rid of this regime.

Kobets Urges Executing Junta Members

AU2108183091 Paris AFP in English 1757 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 21 (AFP)—The "bastards" who failed in their bid to oust Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev should be put up against the wall and shot, Russian Defense Minister Konstantin Kobets said Wednesday.

"I will be perfectly calm when I personally command the firing squad that shoots those junta bastards," General Kobets said.

He was appointed defense minister by Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Tuesday.

Kobets, speaking to a group of reporters in a corridor of the Russian parliament, said that permission to execute the coup plotters if they failed and were captured was the only condition he had imposed when Yeltsin asked him to take the job.

"We are preparing a hearty welcome for Gorbachev and the arrest of the junta members," he said.

Continued Attacks on Parliament Possible

Spetznaz Attack Viewed

LD2108214291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Of course, this bulletin has maybe proceeded on a high emotional note, for we are all glad, with you, that fascism has not succeeded in our country, that the junta have given up and that the coup appears to have failed.

But let us not be hasty. A breakthrough has appeared, but the battle might not yet be won. In any event, we have been informed now that an anxious night lies ahead in the House of Soviets of Russia on the Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment. Some reports are coming in that Spetznaz troops, apparently loyal to the conspirators, the last troops, maybe units or subunits, which are still loyal to them, might try to attack it again. Therefore, uneasy hours lie ahead of the Moscow workers around the House of Soviets. We shall give you telephone numbers to contact at the Supreme Soviet: 205-68-17 and 205-43-43. The leaders of Russia are calling on people not to disperse but to hold out and to spend the night outside the building on the Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment. That's all. Goodbye, until we meet again. [video shows

presenter Yevgeniy Kiselev speaking to camera, telephone numbers shown on screen as they are read out]

'Professional Killers' Lurk

OW2208004391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0025 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From "Express-Edition No. 1;" item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A militia unit and members of the Russian president's personal guard are checking IDs among all the people present in the Russian parliament's building.

An IF [INTERFAX] correspondent has been told a group of approximately 30-40 persons is believed to have sneaked into the building. One of those accompanying the unit in charge of checking IDs has explained [to] our correspondent that those intruders are allegedly "professional killers" who are believed to be members of a special storm unit called "Cascade."

Moscow Media Returning to Normal Operations

Troops Leave Central TV Center

OW2208045791 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Utro" program, presented by Aleksandr Panov and Alla Parkhomenko]

[Excerpts] [Parkhomenko] Good morning dear television viewers. Today is Thursday, 22 August.

[Panov] Hello. I hope that all of our television viewers in the Far East, Siberia, and Central Asia, and all of you who are watching us live over the Orbita program, are having a very good early morning. It is 2200 hours [1900 GMT] in Moscow. Today the alarmed gaze of the entire world was focused on Moscow, so please excuse us; today we will work in accordance with Moscow time.

The junta failed, and the putschists have ignominously left Moscow. What happened was what every one of us who has prepared today's live program for you had hoped for. At this most difficult time, the country is recognizing its heroes. They are the leaders of Russia—Boris Yeltsin, Aleksandr Rutskoy, Ivan Silayev, and others. They are Eduard Shevardnadze and Aleksandr Yakovlev, and thousands and thousands of Muscovites who stood as a wall in the way of the military putsch. [passage omitted]

We ought to name all of those who fulfilled their humane and professional duties these last few days, including the soldiers who refused to obey the orders of the military clique and raised Russian flags on their tanks; and the journalists of banned publications; and my colleagues from Russian Television who recorded the Vesti newscast, despite a ban by the authorities, and who distributed it on cassettes throughout the country; as well as my colleagues from the Ekho Moskvy radio station who worked all day 20 and 21 August, also despite a ban by the new authorities. Also [journalists] of the illegally Xerox-copied democratic newspapers of Moscow. [passage omitted]

So now for the main news from Moscow. The conspirators have fled from Moscow via Vnukovo Airport, and according to some reports are now in the Crimea. According to the Ministry of Defense, all troops are being withdrawn from Moscow—at this moment they may have already been withdrawn—and from other regions where the so-called emergency situation was declared.

I wish to add that our television center was vacated by airborne troops at about 1400 hours Moscow time. [passage omitted] [video shows English-captioned scenes of violence in Moscow streets during the 20-21 August night].

Russian Television Broadcasting Again

OW2108170791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1550 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Television, whose programmes were interrupted on the orders of the State of Emergency Committee, intends to resume broadcasts on Wednesday afternoon.

Sergey Skvortsov of the technical management team of Russian Television informed "Interfax" that broadcasting would begin again at around 5 or 6p.m. Moscow time from the Russian Parliament building. Programs will be transmitted indpendently. It will only be possible to receive Russian Television in the Moscow area on Channel 6.

The President of RTV stated that the first program would be video footage of the events in Moscow on the night of 20th - 21st.

The State of Emergency Committee ordered the cessation of RTV broadcasts because they were "not conducive to the process of stabilization within the country".

'Vesti' Welcomes Viewers Back

LD2108223291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Yevgeniy Kiselev] Good evening. The night edition of Vesti is going out on the air to the whole country again from Russian Television's studio in Ostankino.

Last Sunday, 18 August, as I finished the bulletin, I said: Until we meet again, right at the end, as I usually do. Early next morning, I no longer knew when that meeting would take place, or whether we would meet again at all.

I was called at 0630 and told that a military coup had taken place in the country. Something unthinkable and terrible had happened, something that it had already seemed could not occur; but, alas, Shevardnadze's December prophecy had come true. We had seen that very dictatorship of whose coming he had spoken at that time, when he resigned, as you will recall.

People of our generation will probably remember that dreadful morning of the day before yesterday just as clearly as our fathers and grandfathers recall the morning of 22 June 1941. But thank God it did not take four long years to crush fascism in 1991. The coup staged by our home-grown Pinochets collapsed today, at the end of its third day, and I congratulate you on that.

But today we mourn the victims of the coup. Vesti will now have a minute's silence. [video shows crowds around buses at makeshift barrier, blood on road, a group standing around a fire]

Radio Rossii Resumes Broadcasts

LD2108201191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Good evening. Radio Rossii is starting to broadcast its program from Moscow, the capital of our homeland, from the Ostankino studio. Radio Rossii has returned to its wavelengths after two and a half days of silence.

Kuzbass Miners Return to Work 22 Aug

LD2208071491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0636 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo (Western Siberia), 22 Aug (TASS)—Miners of the striking coal enterprises of the Kuzbass went back down to the coal face today. But the strike, provoked by the organization of the anticonstitutional USSR State Emergency Committee, has not ended. The Council of Workers' Committees of the Kuzbass has decided to continue it until the organizers of the coup are brought to account. In order to minimize the economic damage, the miners have been urged to mine coal but not dispatch it to consumers. These actions have been supported by the workers' committees on the spot.

Ukraine

Republic Reaction to SCSE; Events in Moscow

Supreme Soviet Issues Statement

LD2108210291 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 21 Aug 91

["Text" of statement issued by Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium "yesterday"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium notes that full analysis and assessment of the situation that has taken shape after the creation of a State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] in the USSR will be made by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet after the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Before a decision is made by this session, the resolutions of the SCSE in the USSR have no legal force on the territory of the Ukraine. The presidium declares that the state of emergency is not instituted in the Ukrainian SSR because reasons for doing this have not been found. The USSR Constitution, the Ukrainian SSR Constitution, and laws and resolutions adopted in accordance with them are in force in the Ukraine. The legally elected state power and government bodies are exercising their powers.

The presidium states that it will consistently champion the state sovereignty of the Ukraine, human rights, and democratic achievements initiated in 1985. We support measures of the Ukrainian SSR Cabinet of Ministers to protect the internal consumer market and to intensify the struggle against crime, corruption, and profiteering.

Taking into consideration the situation that has taken shape in the country, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium calls on local soviets of people's deputies; leaders of political parties, public associations, and mass movements; and all citizens of the Ukraine to do everything in their power to avoid destabilization and aggravation of the sociopolitical situation in the republic; disturbance of work pace and violation of public order; to prevent confrontation and opposition and refrain from strikes, meetings, and demonstrations; to focus all efforts on solving the most important problems of the republic's everyday life and improving the supply of foodstuffs to the population; and to successfully carry out the entire range of agricultural work and preparations for winter.

Declares Committee Resolutions Invalid

LD2108130791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] This report has only just been received—a report from Kiev. Issues concerning the political situation that has arisen as a result of the formation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR and the introduction of a state of emergency in individual localities of the USSR have been examined at a session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium. The adopted statement notes in particular that prior to a decision by an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] on these matters, the resolutions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR have no legal force on the territory of the Ukraine. A state of emergency is not being introduced in the republic, and no grounds for this can be found. The constitutions of the USSR and of the Ukrainian SSR are in operation in the Ukraine.

Kravchuk Appeal to Lukyanov on Situation

LD2108225791 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 21 Aug 91

["Appeal of Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet, to Lukyanov, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet"—read by announcer]

[Text] I would like to appeal to you in connection with the situation which has taken shape in the country today. I believe that in this critical moment of our history, when grave danger hangs over the achievements of democracy, it is necessary to do everything to turn the development of social processes into the channel of legality. Any unconstitutional structures of power or those created by violation of the constitution cannot be recognized by the people. All issues of state life should be settled on a legal basis. Crisis situations must only be settled by political means, and bloodshed cannot be allowed under any circumstances.

In many ways it depends on you, as head of the legally elected and permanently acting legislative and supervisory USSR body of state power, and on the USSR Supreme Soviet, whether we will preserve allegiance to the course, declared in 1985, of building a state accepting the rule of law and a civil society; whether the state sovereignty of republics will be respected; and whether the rights and freedoms of the person will be insured in accordance with the assumed international responsibilities. The Ukraine, as a member of the United Nations, considers unswerving adherence to acts of international law, which have been signed, to be important in principle.

I believe that all these and other questions that arose in the present situation will be properly examined and settled at the next extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the interests of consolidation of democracy and law and order; and that the session will demonstrate the highest responsibility before the people and the world community. As the chairman of the Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, I insist on the necessity of the presence at the session of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the USSR.

[Signed] Leonid Kravchuk, 21 August 1991.

TASS Reports Kravchuk Appeal

LD2108163191 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Kiev Aug 21 TASS—"In this critical moment for our history, when democratic achievements are being seriously threatened, everything should be done to bring the development of public processes into a legal channel," says an address of Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk to Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Anatoliy Lukyanov.

"Any unconstitutional or created in violation of the Constitution, power structures cannot be recognised by the people. [sentence as received]. All aspects of state life should be treated on a legal basis, crisis situations should be solved only by political methods. Bloodshed should be avoided by any means.

"I believe that all these and other problems of the current situation will be considered and solved at the upcoming extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in the interests of the restoration of democracy and legal order and that the session will demonstrate high responsibility before our people and the world community.

"As the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, I insist on the presence of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev at the session," the address said.

'Thousands' at Rally in Kiev

OW2108221991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1955 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "It is a great pity that at this critical moment for Russia the Ukraine was not found standing with her in solidarity," declared Vladimir Yavorisvkiy, a member of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, at a mass meeting attended by thousands of people in Kiev on Wednesday evening.

Speakers at the rally laid the blame for the indecision on the members of the presidium of the Ukrainian parliament belonging to the communist parliamentary majority.

Igor Yukhnovskiy, the leader of "People's Rada," the official opposition group in the republican parliament, blamed the communists on the presidium for blocking on the first day of the Supreme Soviet's meeting an opposition move to pronounce the actions of the State of Emergency Committee illegal and criminal.

It was announced at the meeting that an extraordinary session of the Ukrainian parliament is to begin on Friday.

Moldova

Reaction to Events in Moscow; Committe Leaders

Resolution Proposes Lukyanov's Dismissal

AU2208095391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0840 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22 Aug—The parliament of the Republic of Moldova adopted a resolution approving the declaration of that legislative forum concerning the situation in the USSR—MOLDOVA PRES informs.

The document recommends to the people's deputies of the USSR on behalf of the Republic of Moldova that during the proceedings of the forthcoming session of the Supreme Soviet they propose to that forum the dismissal from the office of chairman of that organism of A. Lukyanov in connection with his stand and role in the August 18-19 events.

At the same time, MOLDOVA PRES shows, the proposal is made to all sovereign republics to back the initiative of calling up—on August 24-25—a meeting of the republics' leaders to examine the situation created in the USSR and to look for mutually acceptable solutions to the present political crisis.

Supreme Soviet Declaration on Sovereignty

AU2208101391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0906 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] ROMPRES 22 Aug—Despite all extremely grave difficulties and problems confronting the peoples in the Soviet Union, the democratic process became irreversible. Expressing the will of the population in Moldova the parliament adopted a Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova.

Moldova's parliament considers the coup as a grave state crime against the republics' sovereignty which could very seriously affect all peoples. We, the people's deputies of the Republic of Moldova, the declaration shows, back the constitutional organs and democratic forces in the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and in other republics which have unequivocally condemned the political impostors' anticonstitutional actions and we demand the undelayed reinstatement of Mikhail Gorbachev to the office of president of the USSR.

Supreme Soviet Condemns Coup

LD2108153991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1350 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev, 21 Aug (TASS) –Moldovan President Mircha Snegur has assessed the events of 19 August and the actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] as a "putsch, an attempted coup d'etat and thus, a most grave state crime on the part of

the most reactionary conservative forces," the MOLDOVA-PRES agency reports. "As president of the sovereign republic of Moldova," declared Mircha Snegur in his speech to parliament, "I feel profound indignation about the actions of the impostors and I cannot but condemn them. I stress once again that all the decisions and resolutions of the SCSE are illegal and have had no juridical force on the territory of Moldova since the moment they were passed."

An emergency sitting of the sixth session of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova is taking place here today. The members of parliament honored with a minute's silence the memory of the victims of dictatorship killed in Moscow last night. Recalled from their summer holidays, deputies are discussing the situation that has developed in the republic as a result of the events that have taken place in the USSR over the last few days.

The parliament of the Republic of Moldova has sent a telegram to its colleagues in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic parliament. The telegram expresses sincere solidarity with the actions of the parliament of Russia and President Boris Yeltsin and expresses readiness to cooperate and jointly struggle against the advancing dictatorship.

Addresses by deputies at the Moldovan parliament sharply condemned the actions of the SCSE putschists and expressed support for democratic forces. They approved the declarations supporting democracy adopted by the presidium of the parliament and government of Moldova.

Several deputies expressed proposals to adopt a declaration "On the Independence for the Republic of Moldova." However this proposal has not yet been adopted. Most deputies took the view that such a document requires more careful work during ordinary plenary sessions.

Deputies Suggest Republican Leaders Meet

OW2108223391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1924 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "There can be no justification for the reactionary coup d'etat in the USSR" states a declaration passed on Wednesday by the parliament of Moldova in Kishinev. The declaration demanded the immediate dissolution of the State of Emergency Committee.

The Moldovan deputies called on the world community to "condemn the coup" and expressed their support for the position of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, the Baltic states and Kazakhstan. They also demanded the reinstatement of the legally elected president of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev.

At the suggestion of the Moldovan president, Mircha Snegur, the republic's parliament has ordered the Moldovan deputies on the USSR Supreme Soviet to demand the resignation of Anatoliy Lukyanov at the forthcoming session.

The deputies suggested organising a meeting of the leaders of the Union republics in Kishinev on 24-25 August to discuss the situation in the country.

Investigation of Officials Ordered

LD2108210391 Moscow TASS in English 1959 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev Aug 21 TASS—The Moldovan parliament at today's extraordinary meeting adopted a resolution to instruct the Moldovan State Security Committee, the Interior Ministry and the procurator's office to "check and identify officials, bodies and citizens who fulfilled illegal decisions of the emergency committee or contributed to their implementation and make them answer in accordance with the law," the MOLDOVA-PRES republican news agency reports.

The Moldovan parliament addressed their colleagues from other republics with a proposal to convene a conference in Kishinev on August 24-25 to discuss the current situation in the USSR and search for mutually agreed ways to exit the political crisis.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Reorganizes Internal Service Troops

LD2108172991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1640 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 21 Aug (TASS)—By decree of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the internal services troops—the national guard—have been given the status of a subunit of the special purpose militia of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs. In this connection, the agency SAKINFORM reports that the Government Defense Commission and the post of commander of the national guard have been abolished. The main tasks of this militia subunit have also been defined: the struggle against organized and particularly dangerous crime; ensuring order during sporting, entertainment, and other events, guarding prisons; and carrying out patrols.

President Appoints Acting Prime Minister

OW2208125391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In accordance with a decree signed by Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdiya, Vissarion Gugushvili, previously the republic's deputy minister of culture, has been appointed Georgia's acting prime minister. The former prime minister Tengiz Sigua was dismissed last Friday.

Besides, Georgia now has a new foreign minister, Murman Omanidze, who will service at the same time as first deputy prime minister. Government reshuffling involved other officials too.

Trial Urged For Communist Party Leaders

OW2208132791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In a statement over local TV on Wednesday a leading member of the political bloc "Round Table-Free Georgia," Temur Koridze who is the chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Education and Science, accused the Bureau of the Central Committee of Georgia's Communist Party of having betrayed democracy.

Temur Koridze demanded that the party's leadership be brought to public trial for having given support to the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]. He also called for considering the possibility of nationalizing the property of Georgia's Communist Party.

Tbilisi Radio Behavior 22 August

AU2208072091

[Editorial Report] At 0200 GMT on 22 August Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Domestic in Georgian on 7125 kHz signed on with the Georgian National Anthem, followed by the first newscast in Georgian.

At 0700 GMT on 22 August Tbilisi Radio carried its scheduled newscast. The newscast contained reports on the latest events in Moscow and on U.S. reaction to the coup. The newscast did not contain reports on Georgian reaction to the events in Moscow. Tbilisi Radio then carried a literary program.

Armenia

Deputies Appointed Delegates to Russia

LD2108102591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to grant a group of Armenian parliamentarians now in Moscow the status of an official delegation of the republic's Supreme Soviet. As reported by the Supreme Soviet press center, this has been done as a mark of support for and solidarity with the forces coming out in defense of democracy and a law-governed state and with the aim of coordinating further joint work of the Supreme Soviets of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and Armenia.

Supreme Soviet Rejects Authority of SCSE

NC2108164891 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a declaration at its late-night meeting on 20 August which has been sent to the members of the USSR Federation Council.

The following is the declaration adopted by the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium:

The latest developments taking place in the Soviet Union are cause for serious alarm and concern. The exacerbation of antagonism, the spread of the policy of brute force, and the creation of unconstitutional power structures could lead to unforeseeable consequences and drag the country into the maelstrom of civil war. The way to stabilize the situation rests not in oppression, but in the consistent development and deepening of democracy.

Today, more than ever before, political foresight and wisdom must be displayed and everything must be done to avert bloodshed.

The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium rejects the authority of the State Committee for the State

of Emergency [SCSE], remains true to democratic principles, is deeply concerned about the undesirable consequences of the exacerbation of the situation in certain areas of some republics of the USSR, and believes that an urgent meeting of the Federation Council must be convened to search for ways to emerge from this situation through common efforts.

[Dated] 20 August 1991, Yerevan City

Calls for Meeting of Leaders

OW2108202291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet on Wednesday called for an immediate meeting of top republican leaders "to search together for ways out of the current situation."

This call was "provoked by serious concern over the deterioration of the situation in a number of regions of the country and by the possibility of bloodshed and the danger of civil war in the country."

Yerevan-Stepanakert Passenger Flights Resume

NC2108190891 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1745 GMT 21 Aug 91

[ARMENPRES-TASS report]

[Text] Passenger flights between Yerevan and Stepanakert have resumed. Armenian and Azerbaijani militiamen are jointly patrolling Stepanakert airport to ensure the safety of ("passengers).

A consultative meeting took place today in Stepanakert which was attended by representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh's law enforcement organs, officers from the military commandant's office, and commanders of the Army garrison in Stepanakert.

Azerbaijan

'Rightwingers' Reportedly Take Baku TV Center

LD2208112491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1038 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Correspondents in Azerbaijan have just telephoned us. They reported that the atmosphere in Baku is restless. You will recall that President Mutalibov supported the coup d'etat. The television center in Baku today was taken over by right-wingers. Strict censorship of the mass media has been imposed. Judging by everything, surveillance has been established over democratically-minded journalists.

Mutalibov Denies Supporting Gorbachev Ouster

LD2208002191 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Baku Aug 21 TASS—The state information agency of Azerbaijan, AZERINFORM, refuted today's report of the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper, which claimed, referring to the Radio France International, that "Azerbaijani President Mutalibov, on a visit in Iran now, expressed his satisfaction with the removal of Gorbachev from power."

AZERINFORM is authorized to state that Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov did not make such statements in any of his speeches and did not give any interview to Radio France International.

TASS Kills Mutalibov Appeal Report

LD2108145191

[Editorial Report] Moscow TASS in English at 1423 GMT on 21 August carries a 70-word Baku-datelined item saying that on Wednesday, 21 August, Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov issued an appeal, carried by republican radio, that called on the people of Azerbaijan to remain calm and "strictly observe law and order." Moscow TASS in English at 1426 GMT on 21 August carries a service message killing this report. The kill notice reads "attention subscribers: please kill our item 46 Baku."

Kazakhstan

Reaction to State of Emergency, Moscow Events

Nazarbayev Outlines Position

LD2108171191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1445 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] We are transmitting the statement by Nursultan Nazarbayev, the president of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, which was made on 20 August.

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] [video shows Nazarbayev seated in office] Dear comrades! Yesterday I delivered an address to the people of Kazakhstan in which I called for tranquility and restraint to be maintained. Judging by the situation in the republic, the working people share my position, for which I am truly grateful. At the same time, numerous requests are reaching us from the Kazakh people, from the Union republics, and from the Soviet and foreign media for me to express my opinion regarding the situation that has developed in the country. I would like to single out two key points: First, there is no doubt that the economic and political life of the state has reached that fateful line beyond which lies the complete and final collapse of society. Incidentally, it was about precisely this that I spoke at the fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies when I criticized Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev for his political passiveness and for his inability to firmly carry out the course of perestroyka of which he was the initiator. However, the president and his government were unable to make the necessary conclusions. To speak frankly, the situation in the country demanded immediate intervention. But in stating this fact I can say unequivocally that a state of emergency could only have been declared through the backing of the constitutional basis of the law—especially since we have stated to the world about our desire to build a law-based state.

There is also another point that I would like to single out in particular. The committee which was set up by three individuals in the country, without the participation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the republics, in producing documents which were known to be illegal and which, apart from everything else, infringe upon the republican declaration of sovereignty, is ignoring the chosen course towards a market economy. What kind of way out can we propose to the people? I am sure it can only be on a strictly constitutional basis. If we continue to proceed along the crooked road of lawlessness, the people will never forgive us for this.

First and foremost, in these difficult days for the country we would like to hear the opinion of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev himself who must personally assert his inability to carry out the duties entrusted to him. Second, I propose that the political situation be immediately examined at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and that within ten days an emergency Congress of USSR People's Deputies be convened to set a specific date for nationwide elections of the president of the USSR—and at the earliest possible time.

There is one other most important problem that cannot be delayed—the signing of the Union treaty, which has been approved by the parliaments of eight republics. Any changes to the confirmed text of this document may only be introduced with the consent of the supreme bodies of power of these republics. This is a general outline of my position which is shared by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the government, and the people of Kazakhstan. I appeal to the parliaments and the peoples of all the republics of the country with a request to suppport the proposals I have stated. [end recording]

Further on Position

PM2108153391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[By unnamed correspondent under the general heading: "In an Atmosphere of Expectation and Hope"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—In his appeal to the republic's people Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] President N. Nazarbayev noted that there have been numerous requests from the Kazakhstan people, from the Union republics, and from Soviet and foreign media for an opinion on the situation in the country.

"I would single out two key aspects," he said. In the first place, there is no doubt that the state's economic and, indeed, political life had reached the fatal point where society was facing total and final collapse. Incidentally, I said that very thing at the fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, where M.S. Gorbachev was criticized for political passivity. For his inability to firmly pursue the perestroyka course he had initiated.

However the president and his government were unable to draw the proper conclusions. To be frank, the situation in the country demanded immediate intervention. But, having said that, I can unequivocally say that a state of emergency can only be declared on a legal, constitutional basis. Particularly as we have declared for all the world to hear our desire to build a rule-of-law state. That is the second thing I want to point out.

A committee set up by three people without the participation of the USSR and republic Supreme Soviets is producing obviously illegal documents, which, apart from anything else, are an infringement of republic declarations of sovereignty and ignore the chosen course toward a market economy.

What solution can we suggest to the people? I am sure that it can only be on a strictly constitutional basis. If we continue along the crooked path of lawlessness the people will never forgive us. Above all, at this difficult time for the country, we want to hear the opinion of M.S. Gorbachev himself, who must personally confirm that he is unable to carry out the duties entrusted to him.

I also suggest an immediate examination of the political situation at a USSR Supreme Soviet sitting. An extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies should be convened within 10 days. It would decide on an actual date for a nationwide USSR presidential election, and as soon as possible.

There is another problem that brooks no delay—the signing of the Union treaty, approved by the parliaments of eight republics. Changes to the approved text of the document can only be made with the consent of those republics' supreme organs of power.

Supreme Soviet Urges People's Congress

LD2108185291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] An expanded meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic has been held in Alma-Ata. It examined the state of affairs in the country. A statement was adopted, noting that the procedure that has occurred for introducing a state of emergency in the country, removing the country's president from office, and setting up bodies to administer a state of emergency amounts to acts not provided for by the USSR Constitution. The statement proposes that an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies be urgently convened to restore constitutional norms in the country and address issues connected with the Union treaty.

Nazarbayev Resigns From Politburo

OW2208160891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Nursultan Nazarbayev, the president of Kazakhstan, has announced his resignation from the Politburo and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, accusing the party leadership of collaborating in the "anti-constitutional putsch".

Mr. Nazarbayev's press-service informed "INTERFAX" that on 19th- 20th August the Kazakh president, as a Polituro member, received a draft announcement by the CPSU Central Committee which "he categorically refused to sign".

On 20th August, the second day of the coup, the Central Committee Secretariat attempted to call an extraordinary plenum of the Central Committee, presumably to support the actions of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]. Mr. Nazarbayev also refused to participate.

Nursultan Nazarbayev, as leader of the republican CPSU organisation, also mentioned the possibility of the Kazakh party leaving the CPSU and forming its own independent party.

Nazarbayev Talks on Telephone With Gorbachev

Asks Gorbachev Not To Talk to 'Putchists'

LD2108175991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast presented by Yuriy Rostov]

[Text] Just a few minutes before the bulletin went on the air we received a report from the Russian Information Agency which confirms the story that the plotters are in the Crimea. Here is this report:

Kazakh President Nazarbayev has just spoken on the telephone with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. The latter told Nazarbayev that he is still being guarded by 30 KGB staff. However, communications with him have been restored. According to the RIA report, the organizers of the coup d'etat are at the dacha in Foros seeking an audience with the president. Nazarbayev asked Gorbachev not to hold talks with the putchists under any circumstances and to await the delegation from Moscow. This delegation includes Russian leaders Ivan Silayev and Aleksandr Rutskoy, and Security Council members Vadim Bakatin and Yevgeniy Primakov.

Tells Gorbachev of Events

OW2108194391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1735 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of Kazakhstan, Mr. Nursultan Nazarbayev, speaking on republican television, has given an account of his telephone coversation with Mikhail Gorbachev.

The USSR president is being held in isolation and is being guarded by 32 guards armed with machine guns. He has been visited by Mr. A. Lukyanov and Mr. V. Ivashko, reported President Nazarbayev.

The members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency who have arrived in the Crimea have also asked for a meeting with him.

Mr. Gorbachev asked to be informed of events in the country and said that it had been difficult for him to get a telephone line to the Kazakh president.

Mr. Nazarbaev told him about events in the country and recommended that he not meet the SCSE members until the arrival of the Russian delegation.

The Russian parliament reported that the plane carrying the Russian MPs had landed at the military airfield at Belbek near Saki in the Crimea at approximately 19:40 this evening.

Gorbachev Describes Situation

PM2208092391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[By V. Akimov: "Conversation Between the Presidents of the USSR and Kazakhstan"]

[Text] Speaking on republic television late in the evening of 21 August, Kazakhstan President N.A. Nazarbayev reported that a few minutes beforehand he had had a telephone conversation with M.S. Gorbachev.

The USSR president informed the president of Kazakhstan that during those days he was in complete isolation at the dacha in the Crimea. His health is, at present, in order. Describing the prevailing situation in the country, M.S. Gorbachev called it a "right-wing military coup." The USSR president expressed profound gratitude to all the inhabitants of Kazakhstan and N.A. Nazarbayev personally for their tough and principled position and their loyalty to the legally elected USSR state authority.

M.S. Gorbachev also reported that members of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency Baklanov, Kryuchkov, Tizyakov, and Yazov were in his reception room, while A.I. Lukyanov and V.A. Ivashko were waiting for a separate conversation. The USSR president asked for an account of the actions by each one of them during the past period.

In his special television speech, the president of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] stressed in particular that the dangerous period is thus drawing to an end. All Kazakhstan's inhabitants are now faced with the great and difficult work of implementing the set plans for the country's and the republic's renewal.

Kyrgyzstan

President Reacts to Events in Moscow

Asks UN for Help

OW2108111891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0945 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzia denounced the events of the last two days as "an unconstitutional coup which brought to power representatives of reactionary political forces". This coup d'etat, his Wednesday statement says, "is in effect aimed against the people and may push the nation and the constituent republics to a catastrophe".

President Akayev sent the following address to the UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar: "We are a small state. We do not have an army, but we will defend our sovereignty and our freedom. However, we do not have a chance of resisting an army equipped with tanks and warplanes. Will you be able to watch quietly how our freedom and our constitutionally elected state authorities will be trampled underfoot? I have a clear conscience before the people of my republic. I expect your assistance. Only a concord and unity between all citizens of the republic, the Kyrgyz and the Russians, the Uzbek and the Ukrainians, people of other nationalities, will enable us to avert a major disaster".

President Akayev called for the convening of an emergency session of Kyrgyzia's Supreme Soviet to discuss the current political situation.

Askar Akayev, as president of Kyrgyzia, expressed his full support for President Yeltsin of Russia and President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan.

Condemns Coup

LD2108154391 Moscow All-Union First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan, today made a statement to the people of the republic. It says that the events of the past two days leave no doubt that an anticonstitutional coup took place in the country. It happened on the eve of the signing of the Union treaty, when the leaders of the republics had found joint ways of emerging from the political and economic crisis. All progressive public forces of Kyrgyzstan, with the exception of the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the republic, came out in condemnation of the military-party putsch. Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan, announced his complete support for the position of Yeltsin, president of Russia, and Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan.

Communist Party Supports SCSE Actions

PM2208134591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by unidentified PRAVDA correspondent under the general heading "In an Atmosphere of Expectation and Hope"]

[Text] Bishkek—The situation in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan remains calm. There have been no rallies, demonstrations or unrest. Reactions to SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR] resolutions have varied. Workers, veterans, and party workers have approved them in the main. There was an official announcement in the press today that the Communist Party Central Committee Bureau supports the actions of the SCSE. The president and his team were restrained in their assessment. Presidential decrees were promulgated in the evening on the disbandment of the Presidential Council, of which the first secretary of the Kyrgyzstan Communist Party Central Committee was a member. He is not in the new State Council.

KGB Officers Quit Party

OW2108223191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of the KGB officers in the Central Asian republic of Kyrgyzstan has issued a statement describing the events in the country as a government coup. The statement was signed by 20 officers, mostly chiefs of subunits and departments and their deputies.

"We do not share the position of the Kyrgyz Communist Party's CC [Central Committee], which supported the Emergency Committee", the Kyrgyz KGB officers said. They described the appearance of the Emergency Committee as an attempt at installing a totalitarian regime and said they found it no longer possible to stay in the CPSU.

Decree Bans Party Work in Enterprises, Offices

LD2108204191 Berlin ADN in German 2009 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Bishkek (ADN)—The Soviet Republic of Kyrgyzstan has today, as Russia before it, banned the work of parties in enterprises and offices. By decree of President Askar Akayev, a law on social organizations was put into effect, which does not allow the formation of party organizations within state bodies. Party and other social organizations have no right to a voice on cadre issues and the joint publication of press publications by state and party with a party political bias is forbidden. Meetings and conferences may not be held at the workplace or during working hours.

In accordance with the decree, the economic activities of parties are restricted. Parties are not allowed to use either buildings or tools or enterprises that are state property without paying, and money for promoting party work has been cut.

Yesterday, Akayev created two new coordinating bodies by decree: a Council of State and a Social Policy Consultative Council.

Uzbekistan

Karimov Statements on State of Emergency

Stresses USSR, Uzbek Laws

LD2108154791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Karimov, president of Uzbekistan, today adopted a decree stating that on the territory of Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] the adoption and execution of all decisions of the bodies of power and administration of enterprises, organizations and institutions must be strictly in keeping with and respond to the Constitution and laws of the USSR and Uzbek SSR, the decrees of the president of Uzbek SSR, resolutions and instructions of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR, and the Cabinet of Ministers attached to the president of Uzbekistan.

Decrees, resolutions, and decisions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR that contravened the constitution and laws of the USSR and the constitution and laws of the Uzbek SSR, are to be considered invalid.

Opposes Force, Urges Calm

LD2108185691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks 1445 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Video report from Tashkent by M. Ganiyev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Tashkent today, at a joint session of the presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet and the Cabinet of Ministers attached to the president of the republic, the latest serious events in the country were discussed. The parliament and government of the republic adopted a joint statement, the text of which was read out by Islam Karimov, president of Uzbekistan. The statement calls for the preservation and strengthening of social and political stability, for calm and for sensible behavior.

[I.Karimov, president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic] We are against the use of force, and above all military force, in peacetime for resolving differences between different social and political forces. Calm for people in towns, villages and settlements is paramount for us, and we are prepared to pay any price for that. The republic will continue unswervingly and consistently to pursue the principles of the declaration of republican sovereignty which were adopted at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR.

[Ganiyev] And although Uzbekistan remains calm and stable, the session formed a republican commission of bodies of executive authority and administration which will be decisively maintaining a normal social and political situation in Uzbekistan. All the news media, newspapers, magazines, radio and television will be operating in strict accordance with the laws of the Uzbek SSR. [video shows Karimov addressing session]

Outlaws Emergency Committee Orders

OW2108194291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov issued a decree Wednesday that all orders and instructions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency are not in force on Uzbek territory.

The decree was all Uzbek ruling bodies should adhere to the Constitution of Uzbekistan and comply with decrees of the republic's president and the Council of Ministers.